Rishi Coffins and the funerary culture of Second Intermediate Period Egypt

Gianluca Miniaci

GHP EGYPTOLOGY 17



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A Elena l'amore di una vita

"ma da quanto, che distanza esige la scrittura? Viene dalla serpentina della tua spina dorsale, da un ricordo di ali, da una coda mozzata, viene dai bivacchi lontani intorno ai fuochi la scrittura che infine spunta dalle dita dopo aver percorso le stazioni della civiltà. Viene da un ascolto di storie di chi barcollava per alcool e per affanni, voci di anziani arrivati alle loro ultime stanze. Viene da notti bianche e giorni da servo, viene da un'espulsione, da un foglio di via. La scrittura è lo sfregamento della distanza sopra un foglio di carta".

(Erri De Luca, *Tentativi di scoraggiamento* -a darsi alla scrittura-, Napoli 2009)

Forse viene semplicemente viene dall'aver conosciuto una maestra senza uguali

A Marilina Betrò

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Acknowledgments

This book is a substantially revised version of my doctoral dissertation, *I sarcophagi rishi nella cultura funeraria del Secondo Periodo Intermedio*, under the supervision of professor Marilina Betrò which was successfully defended at the University of Pisa in June 2008.

Writing a book is quite different from writing an article or a scientific essay. It requires considerably more research, incorporates a vast amount of information, involves travel, making contacts and sharing ideas, gathering material from museums and archives, working in the field, and results in long periods of stay away from home. The completion of this book would have been impossible without help from the many people I have met during this long journey; several people have been involved in the production of this book from my initial research to the final edit. For this reason I feel I am simply like the director of a movie, and here I wish to thank all the protagonists, the leading and supporting actors.

I owe my largest debt of gratitude to Prof. Marilina Betrò, who believed in me when I was still a young anarchic student and who led or rather guided me towards a wonderful dream. From the very beginning she taught me a methodology based on more than simple notions; the theoretical impact of knowledge can amount to more than simply blocks of data. She has been the best guide a student could ever wish for, sharing with me her own enthusiasm and passion for the subject; every day spent with her was an opportunity to learn something new; every day with her I gained a new insight into my own life. She has been consummate professor both in and out of Egyptology. Prof. Betrò's holistic approach to philology, religion, archaeology, history, and social processes has moulded and formed my academic career and made me realise that the properties of a given system cannot be determined or explained by its component parts alone. If my path in Egyptology continues it is thanks to her. I feel that without her support I would never have written this book at all. I am also indebted to her for the permission to publish here the *rishi* coffin fragments from the archaeological excavations in TT 14 and MIDAN.05 at Dra Abu el-Naga (Thebes).

My work has been greatly influenced by the meeting with Stephen Quirke, a scholar of the highest order. His ground-breaking approach to historical problems and our continued discussions helped to change my linear view of history, and introduced me to new interpretative models for the transmission of material cultural and social transformation during periods of regeneration or reconceptualisation such as the Second Intermediate Period. Sometimes things appear different from the points of view you look at them, and he gladly shared his vision of the past with me. I am indebted to him also for revising numerous parts of this book and for many suggestions on the material here presented.

I would like to acknowledge two people who have been involved in this book step by step, from its beginnings to its completion, freely giving their time and energy throughout. I feel this book belongs to both of them as well.

Since I am not a native English writer, this book would not have been possible without the patient help of Paul Whelan, who read and re-read several times my notes and pages, and has been a most careful editor. His editing work is all the more remarkable because he has been required to interpret what my Italian mind was trying to express with *remote* English words, and seemed able to read my mind and understand exactly what I was trying to convey. Without him, I would not have found the necessary support for writing this book in English. He also kindly offered to make many of the drawings for this publication, which make it more useful. His work is invaluable or, better still, part of this book belongs to him.

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generosity and for sharing with me much information on the work of Carter and Carnarvon at the Asasif. Again, I feel she is one of the protagonists in the production of this book.

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I wish to express here my gratitude to Paolo Del Vesco, friend of adventure during my first steps in Egyptian archaeology and who I met by chance in Paris in 2001; he has been in a certain sense my guide and companion in the field of Egyptian archaeology. Thanks to him I gained a deeper insight into archaeological methods which has added greatly to my work.

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PREFACE

The distance between this book and the amorphous mass of painted fragments found years ago on the bottom of a shaft at Dra Abu el-Naga which inspired it, is immense: the only meter to compute it is that of Good Egyptology. This work developed from the ability to query the most trivial remains (and knowing how to ask the right questions), to see and re-weave the invisible threads that bind finds to cultural phenomena, textual data to the material ones: it is an important contribution, which goes far beyond its immediate object, the *rishi* coffin. Gianluca Miniaci's doctoral thesis, defended at the University of Pisa in 2008, was devoted to these coffins and was the first attempt to categorise a class of funerary equipment that previously had never been studied in such detail. The thesis represents the nucleus, substantially revised, of this work, which gives the reader much more than it promises: through a rigorous contextualisation of the findings, subtle analysis and his ability to interconnect different data, always accompanied by intellectual honesty and secure methodology, this young scholar succeeds in giving a masterful historical and archaeological reconstruction of the transitional culture between the late Middle Kingdom and the Second Intermediate Period. Here, *rishi* coffins find their place. A detailed analysis of their features and contexts of discovery, as well as an illustrated catalogue, for the first time provide the scholar with a comprehensive reference work and a chronological framework.

But the story of these "ugly ducklings" (the "hopeful monsters" of Miniaci's Conclusion), and their bright destiny is also an opportunity to investigate the dark folds of scarcely known phases of ancient Egyptian civilisation. In the perspicacious and original analysis carried out by Gianluca Miniaci, that story becomes a metaphor of what Egypt itself permits us to see, for we would know little or nothing of *rishi* coffins had the Theban Antef kings of the 17th dynasty not adopted their model, borrowed from middle class burial customs, and so saving them from the obscurity to which they were destined. And it remains memorable and extraordinary, beside the many merits of this work, to consider the fascinating idea - which the author's meticulous and well considered reconstructions indicate – that at least for once the model of cultural hegemony started from below.

Marilina Betrò, Pisa 3rd March, 2011



Abbreviations and conventions

JOURNALS, PROCEEDINGS AND MONOGRAPH SERIES

 $\ddot{A}A = \ddot{A}gyptiptologische Abhandlungen$, Wiesbaden

ÄAT = Ägypten und Altes Testaments: Studien zur Geschichte, Kultur und Religion Ägyptens und des Alen Testaments, Bamburg-Wiesbaden

AcOr = Acta Orientalia; Societates Orientales Danica, Norregia, Svecica, Leiden/Copenhagen

ADAIK = Abhandlungen des Deutschen Archäologischen Instituts, Abteilung Kairo. Ägyptologische Reihe, Glückstadt-Mainz am Rhein-Berlin

AegMonast = Aegyptiaca Monasteriensia, Aachen

Aegyptus = Aegyptus: Rivista Italiana di Egittologia e di Papirologia, Milan

 $\ddot{A}F = \ddot{A}gyptologische Forschungen$, Glückstadt-Hamburg-New York

AJBA = Australian Journal of Biblical Archaeology, Sydney

AJSL = American Journal of Semitic Languages and Literatures, Chicago [after 1941: JNES]

AncEg = Ancient Egypt

ASAE = Annales du Service des Antiquités de l'Égypte, Cairo

AVDAIK = Archäologische Veröffentlichungen, Deutschen Archäologisches Institut, Abteilung Kairo, Berlin-Mainz am Rhein

 $BAe = Bibliotheca\ Aegyptiaca$, Brussels

BASOR = Bulletin of the American Schools of Oriental Research, South Hadley-New Haven

 $BE = Biblioth\`eque Egyptologique$, Paris

BEStud = Brown Egyptological Studies, Oxford/Providence

BdE = *Bibliothèque d'Étude, IFAO*, Cairo

BIFAO = Bulletin de l'Institut Français d'Archéologie Orientale, Cairo

BiOr = Bibliotheca Orientalis, Leiden

BMMA = Bulletin of the Metropolitan Museum of Art, New York

BMOP = *British Museum Occasional Publications*, London

BMSAES = British Museum Studies in Ancient Egypt and Sudan, online journal

BOREAS = Boreas: Uppsala Studies in Ancient Mediterranean and Near Eastern Civilisations, Uppsala

BSAE/ERA = British School of Archaeology in Egypt/Egyptian Research Account, London

BSFE = Bulletin de la Société française d'Égyptologie, Paris

CAA = Corpus Antiquitatum Aegyptiacarum, Mainz am Rhein

CASAE = Cahiers supplémentaires des ASAE, Cairo

CdE = Chronique d'Égypte; Bulletin périodique de la Fondation Égyptologique Reine Élisabeth, Brussels

CGC = Catalogue General du Musée du Caire series - Egyptian Museum in Cairo, Cairo

CRAIBL = Comptes rendus de l'Académie des Inscriptions et Belles-lettres, Paris

DE = Discussions in Egyptology, Oxford

DFIFAO = Documents de Fouilles de l'Institut français d'archéologie oriental, Cairo

EA = *Egyptian Archaeology, the Bulletin of the Egypt Exploration Society*, London

EEF = *The Egypt Exploration Fund*, London

EES = *Egypt Exploration Society*, London

EES OP = EES Occasional Publications, London

ET = Etudes et Travaux. Travaux du centre d'archéologie méditerranéenne d'Académie polonaise des sciences, Warsaw

EU = Egyptologische Uitgaven, Leiden

EVO = Egitto e Vicino Oriente: Rivista della sezione orientalistica dell'Istituto di Storia Antica, Pisa

FIFAO = Fouilles de l'Institut français d'archéologie oriental, Cairo

GHPE = *Golden House Publications Egyptology*, London

GM = *Göttinger Miszellen*, Göttingen

HÄB = Hildesheimer Ägyptologische Beiträge, Hildesheim

IFAO = Institut français d'archéologie oriental, Cairo

JARCE = Journal of the American Research Center in Egypt, Boston-Princeton-New York-Cairo

JEA = Journal of Egyptian Archaeology, EES, London

JEOL = Jaarbericht van het Vooraziatisch-egyptisch Genootschap Ex Oriente Lux, Leiden

JMFA = *Journal of the Museum of Fine Arts*, Boston

JMMA = *Journal of the Metropolitan Museum of Art*, New York

KMT = *KMT*: A Modern Journal of Ancient Egypt, San Fransisco

MÄS = Münchner Ägyptologische Studien, Berlin-Munich-Mainz am Rhein

MDAIK = Mitteilungen des Deutschen Archäologischen Instituts, Abteilung Kairo, Mainz am Rhein-Cairo-Berlin-Wiesbaden

MEEF = *Memoir of the Egypt Exploration Fund*, London

Memnonia = Memnonia: Bulletin édité par l'Association pour la sauvegarde de Ramesseum, Cairo-Paris

MIFAO = Mémoires publiés par les membres de l'Institut Français d'Archéology Orientale du Cairo, Berlin-Cairo

Minerva = Minerva: the International Review of Ancient Art and Archaeology, London

MMAF = Mémoires publiés par les membres de la mission archéologique française au Caire, Paris

MonAeg = Monumenta Aegyptiaca, Brussels

MRE = *Monographies Reine Élisabeth*, Brussels-Turnhout

MVEOL = Mededelingen en Verhandelingen Ex Oriente Lux, Leiden

OBO = Orbis Biblicus et Orientalis, Freiburg-Göttingen

OBOSA = Orbis Biblicus et Orientalis. Series Archaeologica, Freiburg-Göttingen

OLA = *Orientalia Lovaniensia Analecta*, Louvain

OMRO = Oudheidkundige Mededelingen, Rijksmuseum van Oudheden, Leiden

Or = Orientalia: Commentarii trimestres a facultate studiorum orientis antiqui pontificii instituti biblici in lucem edidit in urbe, Rome

OrAnt = Oriens Antiquus, Rome

PMMA = Publications of the Metropolitan Museum of Art (Egyptian Expedition), New York

PPYE = Publications of the Pennsylvania-Yale Expedition to Egypt, New Haven-Philadelphia

PSBA = *Proceedings of the Society of Biblical Archaeology*, London

RAr = Revue Archéologique, Paris

 $RdE = Revue\ d'Égyptologie$, Paris

RGA = Revue générale d'architecture et des travaux publics, Paris

RoczMuzWarsz = Rocznik Muzeum Narodowego w Warszawie, Warsaw

RT = Recueil de Travaux relatifs à la philologie et à l'archéologie égyptiennes et assyriennes

SAGA = *Studien zur Archäologie und Geschichte Altägyptens*, Heidelberg

SAK = *Studien zur Altägyptischen Kultur*, Hamburg

SAOC = Studies in Ancient Oriental Civilisation, Chicago

SÄS = Schriften aus der Ägyptischen Sammlung, Munich

SASAE = Supplément aux ASAE, Cairo

SAT = *Studien zum Altägyptischen Totenbuch*, Wiesbaden

SDAIK = Sonderschrift des Deutschen Archäologischen Instituts, Abteilung Kairo, Wiesbaden

SE = *Shire Egyptology*, Risborough

Serapis = Serapis: The American Journal of Egyptology, Chicago

SGKAO = Schriften zur Geschichte und Kultur des Alten Orients, Berlin

SIE = Studies in Egyptology, London-New York

TdE = Trabajos de Egiptología. Papers on Ancient Egypt, Puerto de la Cruz, Tenerife

THEBEN = Theben, Mainz am Rhein

UMJ = *University Museum Journal*, Philadelphia

USE = Uppsala Studies in Egyptology, Uppsala

VA = Varia Aegyptiaca, San Antonio

WA = Writings from the Ancient World, Society of Biblical Literature, Atlanta

ZÄS = Zeitschrift für ägyptische Sprache und Altertumskunde, Berlin-Leipzig

OTHER ABBREVIATIONS AND CONVENTIONS ADOPTED IN THE TEXT

AV = Album di disegni di Luigi Vassalli, Album of Drawings of Luigi Vassalli H.2, Civica Biblioteca d'Arte, Castello Sforzesco, Milan;

BD = Book of the Dead

BM = The British Museum, London

C 37/C 62 = funerary complex excavated by Howard Carter and Lord of Carnarvon/the MMA Egyptian Expedition at el-Birabi (more commonly identified as lower Asasif), Thebes

Cat. = Catalogue of *rishi* coffins at the end of the book

CG = Catalogue général des antiquités égyptiennes du Musée du Caire, Egyptian Museum, Cairo. A series of scholarly publications, which groups and numbers objects by subject in the Egyptian Museu, Cairo

CT= Coffin Text

DAIK = Deutsches Archäologisches Institu, Kairo

Davies Mss. = Notebooks, &c., of Norman de Garis Davies (1865-1941), Griffith Institute, Oxford, UK

ed./eds. = Editor/editors

Gardiner = A.H. GARDINER, Egyptian grammar: being an introduction to the study of hieroglyphs, London 1957

GIArch. = Griffith Institute Archive, Oxford, UK

JE = Journal d'Entrée, Egyptian Museum, Cairo. The continuous and sequential numbering system and accession log created by the French for objects entering the Egyptian Museum, Cairo

KV = Valley of the Kings, Thebes

LÄ = W. HELCK, E. Otto, Lexicon der Ägyptologie, 7 vols., Wiesbaden 1975-1992

MFA = The Museum of Fine Arts, Boston

MMA = The Metropolitan Museum of Art, New York

MMAArch. Carter Mss. = Manuscripts of Howard Carter, Metropolitan Museum of Art, New York

NAfr = Bibliothèque nationale de France, Paris

n. = Footnote

no./nos. = Number/numbers

P = Pit

PM = B. PORTER, R. MOSS, Topographical Bibliography of Ancient Egyptian Hieroglyphic Texts, Reliefs and Paintings, Oxford

PMAN = Petrie Museum Archive Negatives, London

PT = Pyramid Text

RMO = Rijksmuseum van Oudheden, Leiden

Rosellini Mss. = Manuscripts of Ippolito Rosellini, Biblioteca Universitaria di Pisa, Pisa

Spiegelberg Diary = Diary of Wilhem Spiegelberg (from 7 Nov. 1898 to 9 Feb. 1899), Griffith Institute, Oxford, UK

SR = Special Register, Egyptian Museum, Cairo. An inventory of objects in the Egyptian Museum, Cairo made by the keepers of the museum and arranged by sections of objects on display

SS = "Sous-sol" *i.e.* Basement Register, Egyptian Museum, Cairo. An inventory of objects contained in the basement of the Egyptian Museum, Cairo made by the keepers of the museum

TR = Temporary Register, Egyptian Museum, Cairo. An inventory of objects in the Egyptian Museum based on the date (day/month/year/sequential number) in which the objects entered the museum

TT = Theban tomb, as published in Porter and Moss, *The Theban Necropolis*, vol. I², 1, Oxford 1960

Wb = A. ERMAN, W. GRAPOW, Wörterbuch der ägyptischen Sprache, 7 vols., Berlin 1926-1931

Wilkinson Mss. = Manuscripts of Sir J. Gardner Wilkinson, Department of Special Collections and Western Manuscripts, Bodleian Library, Oxford, UK

Urk.= K. Sethe, H.W. Helck, H. Schäfer, H. Grapow, O. Firchow, *Urkunden des ägyptischen Altertums*, 8 vols., Leipzig-Berlin 1903-1957

(?) = uncertainty of the statement

37/37.E.60 or 62/R9.A.1 (e.g.) = sigla adopted in the text to refer to different structures, rooms and items in the complexes excavated by Carter and Carnarvon/MMA Egyptian Expedition at el-Birabi. The sequence indicates the number of complex followed by the number of tombs, than the letter of the room/chamber, and finally by the number of coffins.

Note that I generally avoid using Roman numbers for plates except when there are two or more numbers, which can create a degree of confusion (*e.g.* pl. LXX.66).

The numbering system of pages and plates is generally abbreviated (e.g. p. 10-2 instead of 10-12).

Note that I use the double spelling Ahmose/Ahmes to differentiate between the king Ahmes Nebpehetyre (Ahmose) and other private names based on the same root *I*^c*h-ms* (Ahmes).

The figures are numbered consecutively and scattered in the text; a few appear at the end of the book in colour plates. All the photos included in the colour plates are © by Gianluca Miniaci and reproduced with permission of the museums/institutions, except for Pl. 4d © Griffith Institute, University of Oxford, UK and Pl. 8b © Musée du Louvre.

Rishi coffin images are all placed in the Catalogue at the end of the book. Details and drawings of *rishi* coffins are placed in the text. The entry "*Reference in the text*" appended to each *rishi* coffin in the Catalogue files gives the key to locate in the text all the references and the images of each *rishi* coffin.



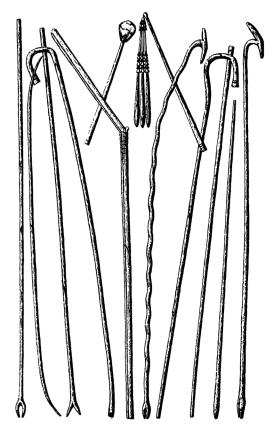
Chapter 1

The transitional phase from the late Middle Kingdom to the **Second Intermediate Period**

Prelude: the socio-cultural background of the late Middle Kingdom

In late Middle Kingdom Egypt (around 1875-1700 BC), after the reign of Senusret III onwards, noticeable changes took place in all aspects of material culture, funerary traditions, language and the administrative system. 1 Major changes are noticeable in the geographical distribution of the elite cemeteries, in the types of burial equipment, the disappearance of existing funerary ritual objects/practices and the appearance of new ones, and in the pattern and decoration of coffins.

The provincial cemeteries like those at Beni Hasan, Meir, Deir el-Bersheh, and Asyut, which flourished during the earlier Middle Kingdom, attest to a decline from the reign of Senusret III and no further direct evidence for nomarchs and their dependents in the archaeological record comes from those localities.² Nevertheless, the local realities did not disappear at all, but provincial cemeteries remained in use throughout the Middle Kingdom even though on a smaller scale and used by a lower level of society.³ The apparent downscaling of provincial elite cemeteries, although not proven to be a result of royal policy,4 doubtless reflects a shift in the distribution of wealth towards the Residence area⁵ and a profound reorganization of the administrative system.⁶ The progressive disappearance of prominent provincial administrative titles during the course of the late 12th dynasty and the rise of a new system of individual identification, whereby a single or compound regular title preceding the personal name clearly defines the function of the official, may reflect changing priorities and policies emanating from the king and the upper class of the central administration. TI Fig. 01 A set of royal insignia found in the tomb is not immediately perceivable if this administrative shift reflects of Sesenebnef at Lisht, from J.-E. GAUTIER, G. a conscious will to create a new royal administrative network to exert control over local communities, or whether it is due to changed socio-cultural environments.



JÉQUIER, Mémoire sur les fouilles de Licht (1902), p. 78, fig. 97.

Burial Customs 2000-1700 BC

In the First Intermediate Period and above all in the early Middle Kingdom, burial equipment in richer tombs tended to include wooden models of estate production and transport. From the same period, about one hundred

¹ J. BOURRIAU, Patterns of change in burial customs during the Middle Kingdom (1991), p. 3-20. See also R. Delia, A Study in the Reign of Senwosret III (1980).

² W. GRAJETZKI, Burial customs (2003), p. 54.

³ See for example, the cemeteries of Diospolis Parva, Haraga, Riqqa, Qau cemetery 700, Mostagedda, el-Kab, Rifeh.

⁴ J. RICHARDS, Society and death in Ancient Egypt (2005), p. 6-7.

⁵ D. Franke, The career of Khnumhotep III of Beni Hasan and the so-called "decline of the nomarchs" (1991), p. 51-67. See also the recent results from the Expedition of the Metropolitan Museum of Art at Khnumhotep's mastaba in Dahshur, J.P. ALLEN, The Historical Inscription of Khnumhotep at Dahshur (2008), p. 29-39.

⁶ S. Quirke, *The Administration of Egypt* (1990); S. Quirke, *Titles and bureaux* (2004).

⁷ S. QUIRKE, Four Titles: What is the Difference? (2009), p. 305-16; Jo. WEGNER, Tradition and Innovation. The Middle Kingdom (2010), p. 132-5.



Fig. 02 Faience figures from Abydos tomb 416, from B.J. KEMP, R.S. MERRILLEES, *Minoan pottery* (1980), pl. 15 [upper]. Drawing by G. Miniaci.

known examples of coffins bear 'Coffin Texts' written in vertical columns of cursive hieroglyphs on their interior faces, which developed from late Old Kingdom traditions of mortuary literature.8 Around the reign of Senusret III, the tradition of writing 'Coffin Texts' on coffin interiors is rarely used⁹ and, at the same time, wooden estate models disappear. 10 In their place, a new range of ritual objects appear in the burial equipment. However, it must be taken in account that earlier traditions did not necessarily disappear upon the arrival of new object types, but might overlap with, rather than cancel, older ones. 11 An increase in the use of multiple burials attested after the reign of Senusret III, and employed thereafter on a

regular and often larger scale by all levels of society, complicates assessment of late Middle Kingdom deposits. Firstly, there are difficulties in establishing which grave goods go with each interment and secondly the presence of more than one burial in a chamber makes its plundering statistically more likely. ¹² On the whole, however, it is possible to classify the range of funerary equipment found in burials of this period by identifying recurrent patterns.

A consistent group is represented by the so-called 'court type burials', which include, alongside the commonest items used for the burial, approximately the same selection of objects; sceptres, staves, maces, daggers, bows, arrows, and fails, all belonging to the sets of royal insignia for the deceased as Osiris king of the dead, as depicted in later sources evoking the *Hour Vigil*¹³ (see Fig. 01). Burials with royal insignia have been called 'court-type burials' after the core group from the royal court cemeteries at Lisht, Dahshur and Hawara. However, they also occur at other northern cemeteries without pyramids of kings, and 'mixed burials' are found farther south in which elements of 'court-type burials' occur alongside other object types. Given this distribution in space and time, a more neutral descriptive term might be 'Osirification' or 'transfiguration' burials

Late Middle Kingdom burials also focus in many instances, though not in the immediate circle of kingship, on objects related to birth-protection: figurines in faience, stone and ivory, representing apotropaic figures of animals such as hippopotami, dogs, cats, apes, lions, hedgehogs, snakes, frogs, or selected models of vegetable offerings, form one part of this repertoire (see Fig. 02). Occasionally these are combined with distinctively

⁸ See the list of documented early Middle Kingdom rectangular coffins with and without Coffin Texts, in H. WILLEMS, *Chests of Life* (1988), p. 19-40. This list includes sources omitted in the synoptic edition at the basis of the Egyptological text category 'Coffin Texts', A. de Buck, *The Egyptian Coffin Texts* (1935-1961). That synoptic edition somewhat confuses the source base by adding to the core inscriptional category (book-like blocks of vertical columns containing cursive hieroglyphs) several compositions not found in such sources, such as late Middle Kingdom external band compositions, *cf.* W. Grajetzki, *Bemerkungen zu einigen Spruchtypen* (1998), p. 29-38. For the relation of the core corpus to Old Kingdom 'Pyramid Texts' see P. Vernus, *Le syntagme de quantification en égyptien de la première phase* (2004), p. 279-311.

⁹ J.P. ALLEN, Coffin Texts from Lisht (1996), p. 1-15.

¹⁰ Cf. G. Brunton in W.M.F. PETRIE, G. BRUNTON, M.A. MURRAY, Lahun II (1923), p. 34.

¹¹ G. MINIACI, S. QUIRKE, Reconceiving the Tomb in the Late Middle Kingdom (2009), p. 359-60.

¹² W. GRAJETZKI, Multiple burials in ancient Egypt to the end of the Middle Kingdom (2007), p. 24-33.

¹³ See H. WILLEMS, The Embalmer Embalmed (1997), p. 365-7. W. GRAJETZKI, The coffin of Zemathor (2010), p. 92-102.

¹⁴ The type example being an intact Lisht tomb of the "lady of the house" Senebtysy, published by A.C. MACE, H.E. WINLOCK, *The tomb of Senebtisi* (1916). See also J.-E. GAUTIER, G. JÉQUIER, *Mémoire sur les fouilles de Licht* (1902), p. 74-9. See also discussion in B. WILLIAMS, *The Date of Senebtisi at Lisht* (1975/76), p. 41-59 and C. LILYQUIST, *Note on the Date of Senebtisi* (1979), p. 27-8.

¹⁵ Riqqa, tomb 166, burial of Sawadjyt, see H. Petrie in R. ENGELBACH, Riqqeh and Memphis VI (1915), p. 23-4.

¹⁶ W. GRAJETZKI, *Harageh* (2004), p. 26-7. At Thebes, recent DAIK excavations in Dra Abu el-Naga uncovered in tomb K03.5 the heads of a *kherep*- and a *was*-sceptre, see U. Rummel in D. POLZ, *Für die Ewigkeit geschaffen* (2007), p. 87, figs. 120-1.



Fig. 03 Hippopotamus birth tusk, JE 88890 © reproduction courtesy of Egyptian Museum - Cairo. Photo by G. Miniaci.

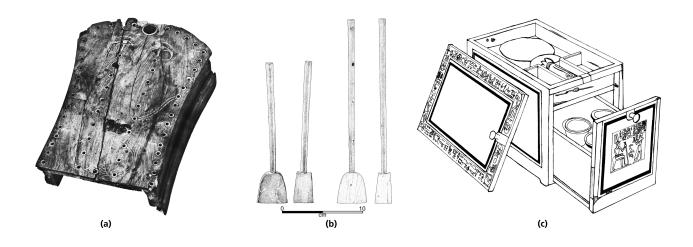


Fig. 04 Three examples of the so-called "daily life" objects from the late Middle Kingdom; (a) gaming board, JE 28564 (purchase) © reproduction courtesy of Egyptian Museum - Cairo; (b) writing implements from Neferhotep's burial equipment, JE 6140 and 6141 © reproduction courtesy of Egyptian Museum - Cairo; (c) toilet box from Renseneb's burial equipment, MMA 26.7.1438, Metropolitan Museum of Art - New York. Credits: (a) photo by G. Miniaci; (b) drawing by P. Whelan; (c) drawing by E. Tiribilli.

shaped objects intended to be grasped, notably the planed long section of a hippopotamus tusk, commonly known as "magic knives", which are generally incised or sculpted in low relief with figures of protective deities¹⁷ (see Fig. 03), or the segmented cuboid rods with similar decoration in two and three dimensions.¹⁸ Diagnostically therefore, these birth-protection objects seem to belong to the late Middle Kingdom, although they are not present in every burial with 'daily life' objects.

However, alongside the themes of Osirification and birth, many burials contain a variety of other items, usually called "daily life" objects, ¹⁹ which do not belong to either of these two categories, or to the perennial motif of sustenance, defined by the presence of pottery for food and drink, perhaps the only objects found in more modest burials. The range of items such as writing equipment, the earliest surviving literary books, account ledgers, gaming-boards and pieces, jewellery and cosmetic equipment is broadly classified as "daily life" objects (see Fig. 04). This group of miscellaneous objects is loosely paralleled in three contemporary inventories from the largest batch of documents among the Lahun papyri, ²⁰ which give possible luggage lists for the living that include food, jewellery, writing and sealing equipment, a carrying-chair and a headrest. From the range of commodities as well as the repetition and quantity of produce included, these inventories could be interpreted as lists of objects taken on a journey. ²¹ Viewed in this light, instead of the so called "daily-life" items in late Middle Kingdom burials representing the supplies of a wealthy house in the exceptional manner of 1st and 18th dynasty elite tombs, they are rather the provisions required for a short period of time, such as a journey, and

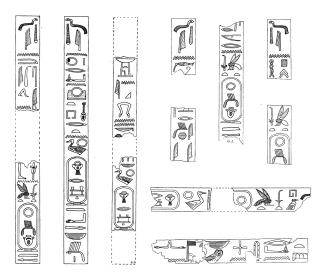


Fig. 05 Inscribed columns and bands from the coffin of the king Awibre Hor found at Dahshur, from J. de MORGAN, *Fouilles à Dahchour* (1895), p. 101, fig. 241.

may therefore reflect the regular requirements of the elite for their sailings from one part of their estate to another.

It should be remembered that an unknown proportion of burials of this period, invisible in most of the archaeological record for Egypt, would have contained no objects at all.

Script in Burials

At the end of the Middle Kingdom, while the practice of writing Coffin Texts on the insides of coffins declined, a new religious conception in composing hieroglyphic inscriptions is apparent in select burials. The practice consisted of writing the hieroglyphic signs representing living creatures drawn without the part needed for movement.²² This custom involved mainly signs in the form of birds and snakes,²³ while other human and animal signs were generally avoided more than mutilated²⁴ (see Fig. 05). The reasons for the development of this practice are still unknown, but it

¹⁷ See H. ALTENMÜLLER, *Die Apotropaia* (1965); H. ALTENMÜLLER, *Ein Zaubermesser des Mittleren Reiches* (1986), p. 1-27.

¹⁸ Examples in J. BOURRIAU, *Pharaohs and Mortals* (1988), p. 102, 116-20. See also B.J. KEMP, R.S. MERRILLEES, *Minoan Pottery* (1980), p. 105-75, pls. 10-26.

¹⁹ W. GRAJETZKI, Box Coffins in the Late Middle Kingdom (2007), p. 41-54.

²⁰ Lots VI.10-11 = UC32179, UC32183, published F.Ll. GRIFFITH, *The Petrie Papyri* (1898), pls. 18-20; M. COLLIER, S. QUIRKE, *The UCL Lahun Papyri: Accounts* (2006), p. 26-35.

²¹ G. MINIACI, S. QUIRKE, Reconceiving the Tomb in the Late Middle Kingdom (2009), p. 368-9.

²² A similar phenomenon, although structurally more elaborate, had already appeared in the late Old Kingdom and is evident in inscriptions of the Pyramid Texts in 5th and 6th dynasty royal tombs and on some private coffins of the First Intermediate Period, but it gradually vanished with the rising of the Middle Kingdom, see M.P. LACAU, *Suppressions et modifications de signes* (1913), p. 1-49; and C.M. FIRTH, B.G. GUNN, *Teti pyramid cemeteries* (1926), p. 171-4.

²³ In some rare cases, the human figures are also subject to mutilation; see for instance the *ushabti* of Renseneb, T.E. PEET, *The Cemeteries of Abydos* (1914), vol. II, p. 57-8, 113, pl. 13.3, discussed in J. BOURRIAU, *Pharaohs and Mortals* (1988), p. 99-100 (83), and the coffin fragments of Senebhenaef, W. GRAJETZKI, *Another early source for the Book of the Dead* (2006), p. 205-16, pls. 5-8.

²⁴ See G. MINIACI, *The incomplete hieroglyphs* (2010), p. 113-34; W. FORMAN, S. QUIRKE, *Hieroglyphs and the Afterlife* (1996), p. 101-3.

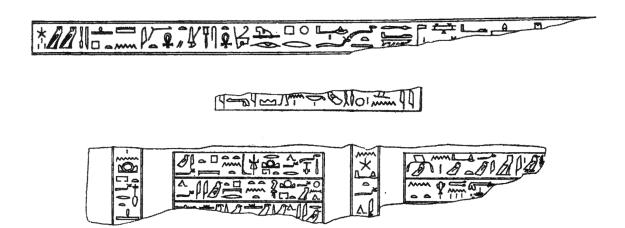


Fig. 06 Coffin of the treasurer Amenhotep from Dahshur, from J. de MORGAN, *Fouilles à Dahchour* (1903), p. 70, figs. 113-5.



Fig. 07 Black granite offering table belonging to the princess Neferuptah found by Farag and Iskander at Hawara south, and detail, JE 90190 © reproduction courtesy of Egyptian Museum - Cairo. Photo by G. Miniaci.

can be conjectured that its purpose was to protect the deceased from the potential harm deriving from the magical meaning of each sign, such as the danger of an animated snake or birds that could fly away from the formula making it ineffective. The practice of omitting parts of the hieroglyph bodies in the funerary inscriptions could be connected to some degree with the disappearance of the CT tradition from coffin interiors, strengthening the impression of a definite desire to remove any possible danger that would be in close proximity to the body of the deceased. In the northern cemeteries, several undisturbed late Middle Kingdom burials belonging to members of the royal family and highest court officials contain inscriptions with incomplete hieroglyphs²⁵ (see Fig. 06). The burial equipment of princess Neferuptah provides a more accurate date for the origin of this practice. Usually, it has been assumed that Neferuptah was the daughter of Amenembat III, since there is a close link and a precise correspondence between her and the king. ²⁶ Unfortunately, the genealogy of Neferuptah is never explicitly stated and it can only be assumed that she outlived Amenemhat III. Since parts of Neferuptah's burial equipment were found still in position inside the funerary chamber of Amenembat III's pyramid at Hawara.²⁷ one can conclude that the king had also intended to include the burial of princess Neferuptah within his own sepulchral chamber, but the absence of any real funerary items of the princess in the royal complex suggests that when Neferuptah died the royal burial chamber was already closed and she had to find another burial place. Indeed, in 1955, about 2 km south of Amenemhat III's pyramid, Nagib Farag and Zaky Iskander discovered the tomb of princess Neferuptah still intact, although severely damaged by the action of ground water.²⁸ All the inscribed items from the tomb, the outermost red granite sarcophagus, the wooden box coffin lying inside it, two silver vases, and a black granite offering table (Fig. 07), show the same incomplete hieroglyphs arrangement.²⁹ A different process, instead, could be noticed in the elements of her

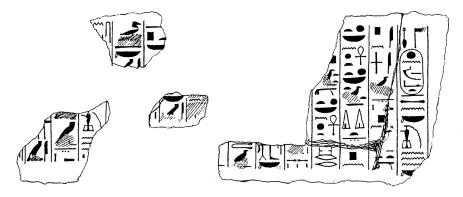


Fig. 08 Vessel fragments belonging to the Neferuptah funerary equipment from the burial chamber of the king Amenemhat III at Hawara, from W.F.M. PETRIE, *Kahun, Gurob, and Hawara* (1890), p. 17, pl. 5.

burial equipment placed in the funerary chamber of Amenemhat III, where several fragments of funeral vases and an offering table bearing inscriptions on behalf of Neferuptah were found.³⁰ The fragments of these stone

²⁵ *Cf.* the "king's daughter" Nubheteptikhered, J. de MORGAN, *Fouilles à Dahchour* (1895), p. 111-5, figs. 263, 268-9, pl. 36; the "king's wife" Keminub, J. de MORGAN, *Fouilles à Dahchour* (1903), p. 70-1, figs. 116-7; the princess Hathorhotep, J. de MORGAN, *Fouilles à Dahchour* (1903), p. 105, fig. 154 (fragment of her canopic box).

²⁶ Amenemhat III's name was mentioned in the burial of Neferuptah at Hawara south on three silver vases, see N. FARAG, Z. ISKANDER, *The Discovery of Neferwptah* (1971), p. 14-5, figs. 8-10, pl. 15; Neferuptah was represented in the temple of Medinet Madi next to the king, see E. Bresciani, A. Giammarusti, R. Pintaudi, F. Silvano, (eds.), *Medinet Madi* (2008), p. 23.

²⁷ W.M.F. PETRIE, *Kahun, Gurob and Hawara* (1890), p. 8, 17, pl. 5.

²⁸ N. FARAG, Z. ISKANDER, *The Discovery of Neferwptah* (1971), p. 1-6.

²⁹ N. FARAG, Z. ISKANDER, *The Discovery of Neferwptah* (1971), p. 24, fig. 20 (granite sarcophagus), p. 48-58, figs. 30-2, pl. 37.a.b (wooden coffin), p. 14-5, figs. 8-10 (silver vases), p. 7-10, pl. 7 (offering table, now in the Egyptian Museum of Cairo, JE 90190). The inscriptions on the wooden coffin are only preserved in small fragments, covered by gold leaf applied on gesso plaster, and they show the use of unusual or unparalleled spells not found on other late Middle Kingdom coffins. Grajetzki has noted that the closest parallel for the Neferuptah formulae occurs in inscriptions on the outermost sarcophagus of the "great king's wife" Hatshepsut, see W. GRAJETZKI, *The coffin of the "king's daughter" Neferuptah* (2005), p. 55-61, pls. 1-4.

³⁰ Amongst the debris from the funerary antechamber, Petrie discovered an offering table made of alabaster, elaborately carved with near identical descriptions of food and hieroglyphic labels, though with some slight differences, to the example found at Hawara south, W.M.F. Petrie, *Kahun, Gurob and Hawara* (1890), p. 17, pl. 5. The offering table is now in Cairo Museum (CG 23013- JE 28792), see also A.B. KAMAL, *Tables d'offrandes* (1906), p. 10-3, pl. 7.

vessels have an unparalleled feature deserving comment. Petrie had already noted in passing: "That the altar was so engraved not merely to save space or labour, is shown by the erasure of all the legs of the birds which had at first been engraved on the vase-inscriptions. Some mystical idea must, therefore, be attached to this remarkable change, a change which is quite unknown in later times". The hieroglyphs on the vessel fragments had originally been outlined complete with all the bird signs provided with their legs; only later, were their legs deliberately erased as result of a rising new practice (see Fig. 08). The action of an explicit erasure applied on the initially intact and fully shaped hieroglyphs, followed by a consistent use of the incomplete hieroglyphs system, as attested in her true burial at Hawara south, pinpoints the period pre-dating Neferuptah's death as the starting point for this new tradition. However, lacking at the moment any precise information about the chronology of Neferuptah's death, what is relevant here is that the vessel fragments providing evidence of this writing system were found inside the pyramid burial chamber of king Amenemhat III, which, according to the method of its construction, could be closed only once and presumably at the king's death. Consequently, we can assume that this practice began around the end of Amenemhat III's reign and continued through the late Middle Kingdom and the Second Intermediate Period.

Coffin Design

During the late Middle Kingdom, the shape and the type of coffins underwent some distinctive changes. Rectangular coffins show an increase in the number of columns on the long sides, from four up to nine, or include text panels (see Fig. 06) between the vertical columns, which contain either Coffin Text spells, chapters from the Book of the Dead or composition for which parallels are not known.³³ On their short sides the goddesses Isis and Nephthys are often represented,³⁴ while the palace-façade is a recurrent decorative motif used on the long sides between the text columns. The coffin lid is generally vaulted with raised ends on the short sides (see Fig. 09). Moreover, this is also the period for the gestation of the anthropoid coffin shape.³⁵ With the exception

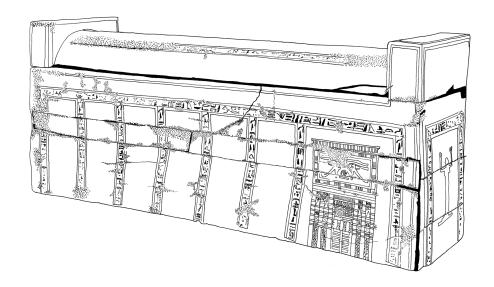


Fig. 09 Black rectangular coffin of the "wab-priest" Ikhet, MMA 32.3.430, from W.C. HAYES, *The Scepter of Egypt* (1959), vol. I, fig. 228. Drawing by P. Whelan.

³¹ W.M.F. PETRIE, Kahun, Gurob and Hawara (1890), p. 17.

³² M. LEHNER, *The Complete Pyramids* (1997), p. 183.

³³ W. GRAJETZKI, Box Coffins in the Late Middle Kingdom (2007), p. 41-2.

³⁴ H. WILLEMS, *Chests of Life* (1988), p. 163.

³⁵ J.H. TAYLOR, Egyptian Coffins (1989), p. 24; G. MINIACI, L'origine "sociale" dei sarcofagi rishi (2007), p. 113-5.

of some sporadic and isolated cases,³⁶ the first anthropoid coffins, even if still part of a set of coffins including rectangular ones, begin to appear in burials from the late Middle Kingdom onwards.

According to the study carried out by Bourriau on the change in orientation from the body laying on its side, as in narrower rectangular coffins of the late Old and early Middle Kingdoms, to the body laying on its back, as in the broader rectangular or anthropoid coffins of the late Middle Kingdom,³⁷ as well as the adoption of the anthropoid shaped coffin, may reflect a spread of embalming practice and/or rituals of mummification from the Residence area to select cemeteries across the country. Among the first dated examples, is the anthropoid coffin of the "overseer of the army" Sepi which can be hardly ascribed to a period later than Senusret III, found



Fig. 10 Anthropoid coffin of the "overseer of the army" Sepi, JE 32668/CG 28084 © reproduction courtesy of Egyptian Museum - Cairo. Photo by G. Miniaci.

at Deir el-Bersheh in one of the shafts in the courtyard of the tomb of the nomarch Djehutyhotep, who was in office in the reigns of Senusret II and III³⁸ (see Fig. 10). The anthropoid coffins of Nakhtankh and Khnumunakht, found by Petrie at Rifeh, belong to a later phase of the 12th dynasty when burials were no longer equipped with models of food production, but still included boat models.³⁹ The anthropoid inner coffin of Userhet, found in tomb no. 132 at Beni Hassan,⁴⁰ belongs to a late phase of the 12th dynasty, since pottery from its tomb dates to the mid 12th dynasty and the decorative motif of its outer rectangular coffin belongs to Willems' type VI, covering the span of time between the last years of Amenemhat II and the reign of Senusret III⁴¹ (see Fig. 11). The remains of the anthropoid coffin found in the burial of the "lady of the house" Senebtysy⁴² (see Fig. 12), recently dated to the middle years of Amenemhat III's reign⁴³ and of princess Neferuptah dated to the end of the reign of Amenemhat III,⁴⁴ strengthen the impression that the anthropoid shape for inner coffins continues during the whole latter end of the 12th dynasty. The anthropoid coffin of the steward Hapy, surnamed Ankhtyfy,⁴⁵ buried at Meir can be dated to the late 12th dynasty, but no later than the first half of the 13th dynasty, since his rectangular coffin still preserves CT inscriptions on its interior walls⁴⁶ and the motif of the offering list on his

³⁶ See for example the anthropoid wrapping of the queen Ashayet found by Winlock at Deir el-Bahri and dating to the end of the 11th dynasty, H.E. WINLOCK, *The Egyptian Expedition 1920-1921* (1921), p. 50.

³⁷ J. BOURRIAU, Change of Body Position (2001), p. 1-20.

³⁸ H. WILLEMS, *Chests of Life* (1988), p. 75-7. The archaeological report is in M.G. DARESSY, *Fouilles de Deir el Bircheh* (1900), p. 25-8.

³⁹ See W.M.F. Petrie, *Gizeh and Rifeh* (1907), p. 12, n. 26, pls. 10A (rectangular coffins), 10B (anthropoid coffins), 10C (funerary boats), 10E (two female figures carrying offerings). Compare the funerary equipment and especially the two boats with the burial of the steward Montuhotep from Thebes, *cf.* G. Steindorff, *Das Grab des Mentuhotep* (1896), pls. 8-9

⁴⁰ J. GARSTANG, *Burial customs* (1907), p. 173-4, 191, 217, figs. 180-1.

⁴¹ On the pottery date, see J. BOURRIAU, *Pharaohs and Mortals* (1988), p. 92; on the dating of the outer coffin, see H. WILLEMS, *Chests of Life* (1988), p. 35 (BH2), 163.

⁴² A.C. MACE, H.E. WINLOCK, The tomb of Senebtisi (1916), p. 36-46.

⁴³ The date proposed for the burial of Senebtysy is based on the pottery types, see J. BOURRIAU, *Patterns of change in burial customs during the Middle Kingdom* (1991), p. 17-8, n. 98; on the decoration of the rectangular coffin, see W. GRAJETZKI, *The coffin of Zemathor* (2010), p. 28-9; and on the absence of incomplete hieroglyphs writing, see G. MINIACI, *The incomplete hieroglyphs* (2010), p. 117.

⁴⁴ A. DODSON, D. HILTON, The complete royal families (2004), p. 98.

⁴⁵ A.B. KAMAL, Fouilles à Méir (1914), p. 82-6.

⁴⁶ For the coffin type and decoration, see H. WILLEMS, *Chests of Life* (1988), p. 99.

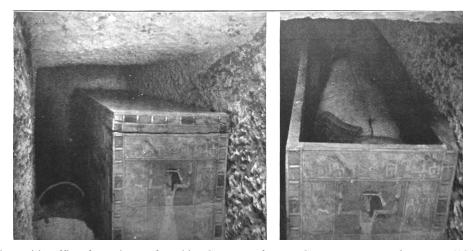


Fig. 11 Anthropoid coffin of Userhet as found by Garstang, from J. GARSTANG, Burial customs (1907), fig. 180.

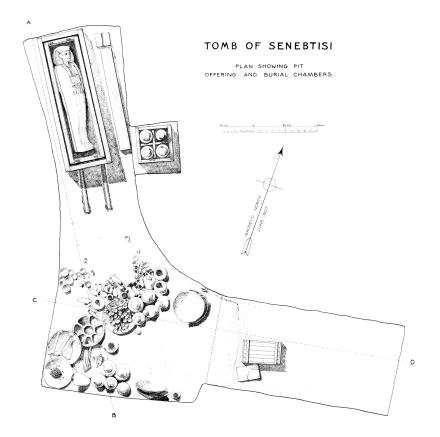


Fig. 12 Plan of the tomb of Senebtysy, from A.C. MACE, H.E. WINLOCK, *The tomb of Senebtisi* (1916), p. 6.

canopic box points towards a late 12th dynasty dating.⁴⁷ Furthermore, a third coffin of Ankhtyfy featured by a vaulted lid and by the presence of pyramidion spells in the ornamental text bands outside matches precisely the outer coffin of Senebtysy.⁴⁸

Moreover, a number of far less precisely datable anthropoid coffins have been found in other late Middle Kingdom-early Second Intermediate Period burials.⁴⁹

⁴⁷ B. LÜSCHER, Eine Gruppe von Kanopenkästen (1989), p. 45.

⁴⁸ Coffin MMA 12.183.11 B-C. Cf. A.C. MACE, H.E. WINLOCK, The tomb of Senebtisi (1916), p. 25.

⁴⁹ See for instances, the burials found by de Morgan at Dahshur next to the pyramid of Amenemhat II, the royal women Ita, Ita-weret, Khnumet and Sathathormeryt, see J. de MORGAN, *Fouilles à Dahchour* (1903), p. 50-65, 70-6; the "lady of the house" Sat-Sobek, J. de MORGAN, *Fouilles à Dahchour* (1903), p. 103, fig. 151; the "mayor" Khakheperre-Seneb called Jjj, A.B. KAMAL, *Rapport sur les fouilles* (1914), p. 78. See recently, M. BABA, S. YOSHIMURA, *Dahshur North: intact Middle and New Kingdom coffins* (2010), p. 9-12.

Burials at Thebes Relating to the Royal Court

During the last part of the 12th dynasty, Thebes is far from the power centres and the number of high-ranking officials buried there is fairly low.⁵⁰ However, the presence of the royal court in the south of Egypt increased during the later Middle Kingdom, as testified by the conspicuous investment made by Senusret III in building a fully functional royal mortuary complex at Abydos south⁵¹ or by the visit paid to Thebes by one of the kings named Sobekhotep of the early-mid 13th dynasty as stated in papyrus Boulaq 18.⁵² However, burials of high officials of the late Middle Kingdom are not securely attested outside the Residence region between Memphis and the Fayum,⁵³ and at Thebes their presence is only marginally testified by scattered links between the middle-ranking representatives and the royal entourage.

In pit-tomb no. 25 in the funerary complex C37 located in the Asasif necropolis⁵⁴ (see *infra*, p. 84-91), the Carnarvon expedition found a toilet box engraved with a scene depicting king Amenemhat IV before his "chamber-keeper" irv-t and "cupbearer" wpdw Kemeni, who most likely held a quite high position in the royal palace⁵⁶ (see Fig. 04.c). The object, which contained an empty mirror-tray hollowed out in the lower central part to accommodate a papyriform mirror-handle, was laving beneath a much decayed rectangular coffin, painted black with yellow bands⁵⁷ and inscribed with incomplete hieroglyphs belonging to the "great one of the Tens of Upper Egypt" 58 wr mdw smc Renseneb, which had been moved to the bottom of the shaft while still intact. On the body was found a bronze mirror with a papyriform handle inscribed for Renseneb. This link between Renseneb and the "cupbearer" Kemeni, supported by the same shape of the mirror and of the tray cavity, highlights an increasingly northern presence in southern burial practices, as testified by the northern tradition of incomplete hieroglyphs adopted by Renseneb at such an early period at Thebes, and by the arrangement of the burial equipment, which includes birth repertoire objects. Indeed, the other finds in Renseneb's burial make his equipment typical of the late Middle Kingdom, including a gold and obsidian necklace, a gold and carnelian šn-"brooch", alabaster cosmetic vases, a gaming-board with ten ivory hound and jackal pieces, a crocodile figurine from an ivory cuboid rod, a hippopotamus figurine found in the wrappings, and fragments from a decorated section of hippopotamus tusk.⁵⁹ The interpretation of the material is complicated by the presence of several other burials, for which the number, sequence and date cannot be assessed from the vague published description of plain "oblong" wooden coffins and "despoiled mummies".60

More difficult to place chronologically is the burial of the "elder of the hall" *smsw h3iit*, "great one of the Tens of Upper Egypt" *wr mdw śm* w, and "vizier" *mr nwt t3ty* Amenemhat, found at Deir el-Medina, which included fragments of rectangular and anthropoid coffins. The style of Amenemhat's rectangular coffin, with short raised ends and a vaulted lid, but not coated with black resin and inscribed without incomplete hieroglyphs, would rule out a much later date, thus placing it more plausibly to the late Middle Kingdom-early Second Intermediate Period (see Fig. 13). Moreover, according to Grajetzki, it is also possible that during the late

⁶² See *infra* p. 17-8.

⁵⁰ W. GRAJETZKI, Court Officials (2009), p. 10.

⁵¹ Jo. WEGNER, *The Tomb of Senwosret III at Abydos* (2009), p. 128-9. See also Jo. WEGNER, *The Mortuary Temple of Senwosret III* (2007).

⁵² A. MARIETTE, Les papyrus égyptiens (1872), vol. II, pls. 14-46 with some fragments on pls. 47-50 and 54 (larger manuscript), pls. 47-54 remainder (smaller manuscript); A. SCHARFF, Ein Rechnungsbuch des königlichen Hofes aus der 13. Dynastie (1922), p. 51-68; O.D. BERLEV, Замечания к папирусу Булак 18 (1962), p. 50-62; S. QUIRKE, The Administration of Egypt (1990). A full photographic edition is announced by Shafik Allam.

⁵³ S. QUIRKE, *Royal power in the 13th Dynasty* (1991), p. 123-39.

⁵⁴ Earl of CARNARVON, H. CARTER, *Five Years' Explorations at Thebes* (1912), p. 51-88 and G. MINIACI, *The archaeological exploration of Dra Abu el-Naga* (2009), p. 50-3.

⁵⁵ On this title and on the ranking title borne by Kemeni, see W. GRAJETZKI, Two Treasures (2001), p. 57.

⁵⁶ Note in the offering formula of the toilet box the presence of Sobek lord of Illahun, see Earl of CARNARVON, H. CARTER, *Five Years' Explorations at Thebes* (1912), p. 56, pl. XLIX.2.

The description provided by Carter and Carnarvon recalls the black rectangular coffin type in use at Thebes slightly later, see *infra* p. 17-8, and H. WILLEMS, *Chests of Life* (1988), p. 117.

⁵⁸ On the title see S. QUIRKE, Four Titles: What is the Difference? (2009), p. 305-16.

⁵⁹ Earl of CARNARVON, H. CARTER, Five Years' Explorations at Thebes (1912), p. 54-5, pls. 48-52.

⁶⁰ See also discussion in G. MINIACI, S. QUIRKE, *Mariette at Dra Abu el-Naga and the tomb of Neferhotep* (2008), p. 20-2, fig. 3.

⁶¹ M.B. Bruyère, *Rapport sur les fouilles de Deir el-Médineh* (1930), p. 100-6, figs. 46-9. The fragments of the rectangular coffin are now in the Naprstek Museum in Prague, inv. no. P1424. See D. Franke, *Personendaten* (1984), p. 83 (dossier Nr. 80); W. Grajetzki, *Die höchsten Beamten* (2000), p. 30-1, I.36.

⁶³ See also the date proposed by Barbara Lüscher for the canopic box found in this tomb, moving the whole assemblage to the late 12th dynasty, B. LÜSCHER, *Untersuchungen zu ägyptischen Kanopenkästen* (1990), p. 53.

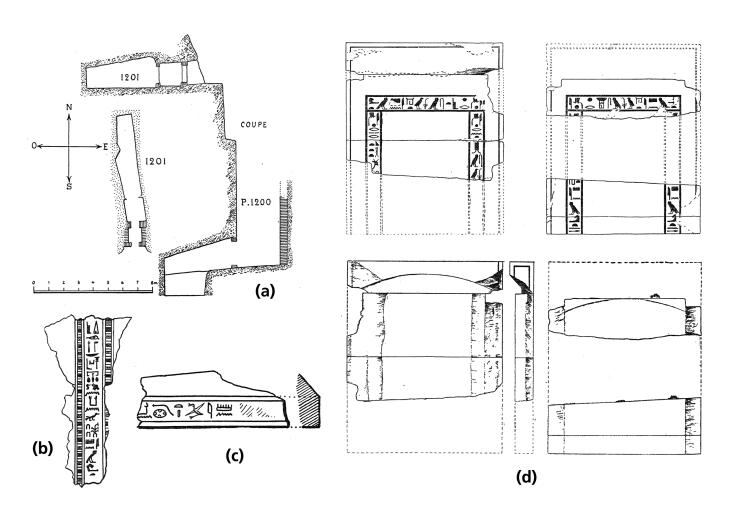


Fig. 13 The tomb of the vizier Amenemhat - (a) plan and section; (b) fragment of *cartonnage* [sic in Bruyère] belonging to an anthropoid coffin; (c) fragment of a lintel from a small shrine; (d) short ends of a rectangular coffin, from M.B. BRUYÈRE, *Rapport sur les fouilles de Deir el-Médineh* (1930), figs. 45, 47, 49.

Middle Kingdom the office of the vizier was already divided into two offices, one based in the south and another in the north, allowing a late 12th- early 13th dynasty date for the vizier Amenemhat buried at Thebes.⁶⁴

Nevertheless, the Theban necropolis was not completely deserted during the late Middle Kingdom and a number of burials belonging to the middle sector of society have been found there,⁶⁵ and probably many others, more than is commonly realised, remain to be uncovered in the cemeteries of Deir el-Bahri, Asasif, Dra Abu el-Naga and el-Tarif.⁶⁶

⁶⁴ W. GRAJETZKI, The coffin of Zemathor (2010), p. 44. See also W. GRAJETZKI, Court Officials (2009), p. 22-3.

⁶⁵ See for example, burial no. 5 found by Quibell beneath the foundations of the Ramesseum, J.E. QUIBELL, *The Ramesseum* (1898), p. 3-4, or the other Middle Kingdom tombs found in the precinct of the Ramesseum, M. NELSON, M. KALOS, *Concessions funéraires du Moyen Empire* (2000), p. 131-51. Recently the German Archaeological Institute uncovered a shaft with a single chamber containing a single burial in a double coffin set inscribed for a man named Ameny and a woman Geheset, perhaps dating to the late 12th dynasty, D. POLZ, *Für die Ewigkeit geschaffen* (2007), p. 36-7. In addition, Winlock discovered burials dated to the late 12th dynasty, probably around the time of Amenemhat III, in cemetery 200 at Deir el-Bahri, "on a spur of the hill overlooking the south-eastern corner of the courtyard" of the funerary temple of Montuhotep II, H.E. WINLOCK, *Excavations at Deir el Bahri* (1942), p. 52, see *infra* p. 107.

⁶⁶ Do. ARNOLD, Amenemhat I and the early Twelfth Dynasty (1991), p. 33.

A theoretical approach to the problem of the dynasties

The Second Intermediate Period defines a period of Egyptian history in which the country was no longer dominated by a single dynasty, but it was divided between two or more ruling families. The beginning of this period of disunity is still hidden in the historical framework, but it would roughly coincide with the loss of power of a weakened mid 13th dynasty and the rise of semi- or fully independent Canaanite rulers in the eastern part of the Delta. The whole period is characterised by the ever increasing presence of foreigners and by the dichotomy of the Hyksos ruling the north from Avaris and Egyptians ruling the south from Itjtawy-Thebes. Fortunately, the end of the Second Intermediate Period is enlightened by several historical sources and can be dated with precision to the first years of the 18th dynasty, when the Hyksos capital Avaris was conquered by the Theban king Ahmose.⁶⁷

The modern terminology - *intermediate* - adopted to denote this period evokes an intrinsically negative connotation, as something standing between two clear, securely defined and stable sequences; moreover, the presence of foreign rulers, the period of warfare resulting from Theban attempts to reunify Egypt, and the later royal propaganda against the Hyksos⁶⁸ contribute to the association of chaos with the historical image of Second Intermediate Period and thus instability, decline and collapse. If one accepts that the modern designation of the period is simply no more than a neutral label, I strongly believe that *intermediate* is the best term which could be used, since the Second Intermediate Period really represents a distinct phase in ancient Egyptian society and change in material cultural.

The modern designation of the Second Intermediate Period includes the 13th dynasty, since this is when control over the whole country is lost, the 14th and 15th dynasties composed of the foreign ruling families, the 16th dynasty, which is usually considered to be the Theban progenitor, and finally the notable Theban 17th dynasty, which gave rise to the process of unification. However, the usual division of Egyptian history into dynasties as the "power-blocks of time" inadequately expresses the historical processes and the cultural development of periods such as the late Middle Kingdom and the Second Intermediate Period.⁶⁹ Manetho's division is in this case deceptive; one dynasty does not contain necessarily a historical and cultural homogeneity.

The 13th dynasty begins essentially as a continuation of the 12th dynasty; it arises directly from its administrative background and preserves the same system of administration,⁷⁰ the capital is still Itjtawy,⁷¹ the rulers continue to be buried in the northern cemeteries⁷² and the products of the material culture and the funerary customs maintain some continuity with the previous tradition.⁷³ Meanwhile, during the time span of the 13th dynasty changes are noticeable: burial customs begin to change, cultural and social innovations gain ground, rulers lose control over all of Egypt, and when the traces of kings and of the royal court fade in the north of the country, the break appears definitive. In the 13th dynasty continuity and change coexist.

Furthermore, the 17th dynasty denotes a well-defined and uniform culture, but only at its end.⁷⁴ The beginning of 17th dynasty can be traced back to a period when new features emerge and chronological and cultural boundaries are not so clearly visible. Moreover, at present it is not possible to assign with precision an identity to the 16th dynasty. Ryholt's idea to convert the 16th dynasty from a series of minor foreign Delta rulers (the previous consensus) into a first Theban dynasty is logical and until now the most convincing.⁷⁵ However, in this way the difference between the 16th and the 17th dynasties come down to a distinction between a "short"

⁶⁷ J. BOURRIAU, The Second Intermediate Period (2003), p. 172-206.

⁶⁸ A.H. GARDINER, Davies' Copy of the Great Speos Artemidos (1946), p. 43-56; D.B. REDFORD, The Hyksos Invasion (1970), p. 1-51.

⁶⁹ S. QUIRKE, Egyptian literature 1800 BC (2004), p. 9 and S. QUIRKE, The Hyksos in Egypt 1600 BCE (2007), p. 124

⁷⁰ S. QUIRKE, *The Administration of Egypt* (1990); S. QUIRKE, *Royal power in the 13th Dynasty* (1991), p. 125-6. More recently, see W. GRAJETZKI, *Court Officials* (2009).

⁷¹ See W.C. HAYES, *Horemkha'uef of Nekhen* (1947), p. 3-11 and S. QUIRKE, *The Residence* (2009), p. 111-30.

The main royal cemeteries of the early 13th dynasty are located at Saqqara south, Dahshur, and Mazghuna, see A. DODSON, *The tombs of the Kings of the Thirteenth Dynasty* (1987), p. 36-45. The kings of this period maintained a strong continuity with the previous dynasty, building pyramids, structurally and typologically close to the 12th dynasty tradition, even if of an inferior quality, see M. LEHNER, *The Complete Pyramids* (1997), p. 184-7, or being buried inside or very close to the precincts of 12th dynasty pyramid complexes, see J. de MORGAN, *Fouilles à Dahchour* (1895), p. 88-106, but also D. ARNOLD, *Middle Kingdom Tomb Architecture at Lisht* (2009), pl. 1.

⁷³ S. QUIRKE, Royal power in the 13th Dynasty (1991), p. 123. W. GRAJETZKI, Burial customs (2003), p. 54-60.

⁷⁴ See the 17th dynasty listed in K.S.B. RYHOLT, *The Political Situation* (1997), p. 265-81. See further, D. POLZ, *Der Beginn des Neuen Reiches* (2007), p. 5-114.

⁷⁵ K.S.B. RYHOLT, *The Political Situation* (1997), p. 151-62.

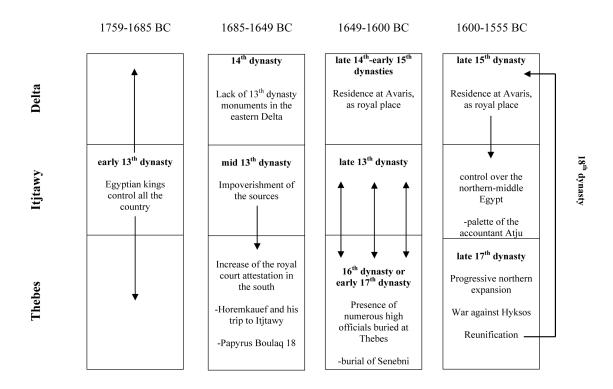


Table 01 Dates, dynasties, and phases of the late Middle Kingdom-Second Intermediate Period arranged in a spatial/chronological layout.

17th dynasty and a "wide" 17th dynasty. Region 17th dynasty. Personally, at a theoretical level and in this work, I prefer to avoid the "16th dynasty" label and pinpoint the development of a southern material culture in connection with the progressive diminution of the political pressure of the 13th dynasty from the north as a phase of the 17th dynasty. The labels "13th dynasty" and "17th dynasty" do not fit well with the multiplicity of historical, social and cultural phases that occurred in this period. By simply adopting Manetho's division, what happens between the 13th dynasty and the rise of the 17th dynasty goes unexplained because, in reality, a distinct boundary does not exist even though the contrary impression is given. A firm watershed can be identified at the moment when the ancient residence of Ititawy definitively stopped functioning as a place of authority and material production centre. Even so, this turning point is purely theoretical and not chronologically specifiable, since the location of Itjtawy remains one of the major gaps in the archaeology of the Middle Kingdom and written sources offer scant information about the period surrounding the capital's abandonment and the causes for it.⁷⁷ However, whereas during the late Middle Kingdom Itjtawy was the major indicator of a strong centralised period of material cultural history, towards the end other centres of power began to emerge and the city of Thebes appears as the most plausible southern successor of Itjtawy during the Second Intermediate Period. Nevertheless, the shift from Itjtawy to Thebes was not necessarily immediate and it must be considered that territorial control could have taken ad interim by a more circuitous route, with multiple centres of rule subordinate to a sole administrative unity. 78 Therefore, it remains impossible to understand the manner and the duration of the transitional phase between the end of the Middle Kingdom and the beginning of the Second Intermediate Period; if there was a real and consistent move of the palace away from the north to the south, whether it happened as a single event or several, with movements back and forth, that lasted for years or just a day, and may not have involved Thebes exclusively, but also other important southern sites like Abydos, before reaching Thebes.

Nevertheless, an analysis of the geographical distribution of the sources could reveal a more coherent picture of the partitioning that occurred in such a period. For example, the burials of high officials found in the Residence region between Memphis and the Fayum could belong to the phase in which Itjtawy still maintained a strong presence as a power centre acting mainly in the north, ⁷⁹ while high officials may have begun to be buried at Thebes when the power of Itjtawy had already started to decline and the focus had moved towards

⁷⁶ D. POLZ, Der Beginn des Neuen Reiches (2007), p. 6.

⁷⁷ W.K. SIMPSON, Studies in the Twelfth Egyptian Dynasty (1963), p. 53-9.

⁷⁸ Cf. S. QUIRKE, The Residence (2009), p. 114.

⁷⁹ Cf. D. ARNOLD, Middle Kingdom Tomb Architecture at Lisht (2009).

the south. In addition, a limited geographical spread of royal attestations around the country supports the view of a much contracted kingdom, and when restricted to the south it possibly refers to a period when the royal court was no longer controlling the north.⁸⁰

However, irresistible use of time-lines by historians that subdivides history into dynasties can be of some help here. We can use the label "13th dynasty" to denote a society and a culture focused on the north, while the "17th dynasty" label could be used to pinpoint the subsequent southern, though not necessarily chronological, counterpart. A conventional subdivision into "early" and "late" adequately expresses the different geopolitical reach of these dynasties during the internal development of their history. However, even this division remains somewhat misleading. The last part of the 13th dynasty denotes a society on the move, whose political/economical/social power centre moves and changes until it merges definitively into another localised dimension completely different from the original. Once the 13th dynasty changes its focus and shifts from the north to the south, even though it still retains its memories and traditions, it sets in motion an unavoidable transformation. When the late 13th dynasty becomes focused exclusively in the south of the country it is nothing more than the 17th dynasty *in nuce*, and conversely the early 17th dynasty is nothing but a transformation *de facto* of the later 13th dynasty. Later in the 17th dynasty, its detachment from the previous tradition is emphasized and augmented by the prolonged state of war begun under king Sequenere Djehuty-aa.⁸¹

The socio-historical sequence of the Second Intermediate Period

The principle of a political division based on the unity-to-disunity of Egypt represents a clear boundary between two broadly different historical phases and allows for an unquestionable conceptual and historical visualisation, marking the transition between the end of the Middle Kingdom and the beginning of the Second Intermediate Period. Nevertheless, the point at which unified Egypt fails is not chronologically evident and is generally located 'floating' somewhere within the mid 13th dynasty, probably around the reign of Merneferre Aye.⁸² Meanwhile the principle of unity/disunity does not account for the internal social and cultural processes, which, as has already been seen, appear resilient to the rigid imposition of dynastic divisions. Changes in burial customs and material production can indeed reveal more about changes in history and society than from any dynastic label or political event. For this reason, the subdivision of the Second Intermediate Period into blocks of time or cultural-historical phases allows for greater accuracy in interpreting the sources. Using this methodology, it is possible to subdivide the Second Intermediate Period into at least three different segments.

Phase 1. The first phase of the Second Intermediate Period groups together the co-existence of an Egyptian dynasty based at Itjtawy still ruling an extensive kingdom and the gradual appearance of a new major power centred in the Eastern Delta, with the main reference-city at Avaris/Tell el-Daba.⁸³ Far from the hypothesis of the violent arrival of newcomers,⁸⁴ the presence of Syro-Palestinian occupations in the eastern fringes of the Delta, attested there since the early 12th dynasty, gradually fill a general vacuum in the north left by the 13th dynasty Egyptian kings who were steadily moving their focus of activity farther south.⁸⁵ Meanwhile, Itjtawy continues to be the main political centre during the mid 13th dynasty, extending its power and influence as far as Upper Egypt, as evidenced by the autobiographical inscription on Horemkhauf's stela found at Hierakonpolis.⁸⁶ This phase can be reasonably approximated to the mid 13th dynasty and to the rise of the 14th dynasty/ies that ruled, or at least achieved some independence, in the eastern Delta.⁸⁷ Leaving aside the situation of the Asiatic element, which clearly records the superimposition of a foreign culture onto a preexisting one,⁸⁸

⁸⁰ J. von BECKERATH, Untersuchungen zur politischen Geschichte (1964), p. 197-9; J. von BECKERATH, Theban Seventeenth Dynasty (1999), p. 21-5.

⁸¹ H. GOEDICKE, Studies about Kamose and Ahmose (1995), p. 36-42, 175-88.

⁸² W. GRAJETZKI, Notes on administration (2010), p. 305.

⁸³ M. BIETAK, Zum Königreich des 3-zh-R^c Nehesi (1984), p. 59-75; M. BIETAK, The Center of Hyksos Rule (1997), p. 100-10.

⁸⁴ J. BOURRIAU, The Second Intermediate Period (2003), p. 174-82.

⁸⁵ S. QUIRKE, *The Hyksos in Egypt 1600 BCE* (2007), p. 137.

⁸⁶ W.C. HAYES, Horemkha'uef of Nekhen (1947), p. 3-11.

⁸⁷ D. O'CONNOR, The Hyksos Period in Egypt (1997), p. 48-56.

⁸⁸ See C. BOOTH, The Hyksos Period (2005).

the break in the material culture is not great, while the political situation changes dramatically. Significantly, the burials of king Awibre Hor and the "king's daughter" Nubheteptikhered, found by de Morgan at Dahshur in a chamber at the end of a shaft inside Amenemhat III's funerary enclosure, ⁸⁹ continue unchanged the previous late Middle Kingdom traditions of being buried in northern cemeteries, ⁹⁰ containing a set of royal insignia for the identification of the deceased as Osiris, ⁹¹ continuing the tradition of rectangular coffins, and employing incomplete hieroglyphs for writing their religious texts. King Hor, following the Turin King list, can be dated to the early-mid 13th dynasty⁹² while Nubheteptikhered, whose burial is almost identical in style and assemblage to that of the king, would not be much later. ⁹³ Consequently, the funerary customs in use during the late Middle Kingdom, at least amongst the elite and royal burials, remained roughly unchanged during the first part of the Second Intermediate Period.

Nevertheless, in this first phase a scattering of minor changes in burial customs can be recognised in areas far from the power centres and in the lower, but not the lowest, level of society. That is to say, wherever the influence of centralised royal control was weakest and where there was sufficient wealth and cultural background to leave visible archaeological traces. Thebes' culture, which was probably not completely overpowered by the influence of the northern royal-elite style, is the best witness to any modifications in the first phase of the Second Intermediate Period.

The burial equipment of the "accountant of the main enclosure" số n hnrt wr Neferhotep, discovered in 1860 by Mariette along the slopes of Dra Abu el-Naga, at Thebes, so represents a late Middle Kingdom burial of exceptional interest, as it may pinpoint the emergence of local features (see *infra* p. 74). Alongside the presence of a *rishi* coffin, itself extraordinary at such an early period, other finds included an accountancy document written on two papyrus roll fragments - more commonly known as papyri Boulaq 18 - a wooden walking stick, a wooden headrest decorated with figures belonging to the iconographic repertoire found on the planed sections of hippopotamus tusks, so a faience hippopotamus, a gaming holder in the shape of a turtle with ivory hounds and jackal pieces, a wooden mace with piriform head, two writing implements, a hardwood tray with recesses cut for a mirror-handle, two calcite cosmetic vessels, a figured hippopotamus tusk, commonly known as a "magic wand", and a rare double scarab (see Fig. 14). The combination of mixed elements from several different late Middle Kingdom burials in the grave goods of Neferhotep might reveal both the growing northern presence in the south and the emergence of a local tradition, which up to then had been much less visible, overshadowed perhaps by the predominant royal canons.

Phase 2. The second historical phase of the Second Intermediate Period groups the co-existence of a powerbase centred now in the south, with another in the north of the country in the hands of a powerful kingdom based in Avaris/Tell el-Daba. 98 This phase corresponds to the obscure period when the late 13th dynasty is transforming into an early 17th dynasty, absorbing the local southern traditions and developing its own cultural background but far from the northern Residence. The change of identity in the course of time would be unavoidable. The focus of this phase is Thebes; while in the north the late 14th or already the 15th dynasty, being the logical result,

⁸⁹ J. de MORGAN, Fouilles à Dahchour (1895), p. 101-2, 110, pl. 36, fig. 263.

⁹⁰ A. DODSON, The tombs of the Kings of the Thirteenth Dynasty (1987), p. 36-45.

⁹¹ B. WILLIAMS, *The Date of Senebtisi at Lisht* (1975/76), p. 41-59. See now W. GRAJETZKI, *The coffin of Zemathor* (2010), p. 92-4, with a list of "court type burials" at p. 96-102. See discussion *supra* p. 2.

⁹² K.S.B. RYHOLT, *The Political Situation* (1997), p. 218 and J. von BECKERATH, *Untersuchungen zur politischen Geschichte* (1964), p. 44-5.

⁹³ W. GRAJETZKI, Box Coffins in the Late Middle Kingdom (2007), p. 48-50.

⁹⁴ For this title see S. QUIRKE, State and Labour (1988), p. 83-105.

⁹⁵ A. MARIETTE, Les papyrus égyptiens (1872), vol. II, p. 6-7; G. MINIACI, S. QUIRKE, Mariette at Dra Abu el-Naga and the tomb of Neferhotep (2008), p. 7-11.

⁹⁶ The iconographic transfer from one object category to another echoes the contemporary use of tusk imagery on scarabs and feeding-cups, *cf.* O. Keel in O. KEEL, H. KEEL-LEU, S. SCHROER, *Studien zu den Stempelsiegeln* (1989), p. 282-6 for single motifs on scarabs; a faience feeding-cup from Lisht, New York MMA 44.4.4, has a series of figures as on the tusks, see J.P. Allen, *The Art of Medicine* (2005), p. 30-1, no. 23. See now Jo. WEGNER, *A Decorated Birth-Brick* (2009), p. 447-96.

⁹⁷ The whole group, with the exclusion of the papyri fragments, has been recently republished in G. MINIACI, S. QUIRKE, *Reconceiving the Tomb in the Late Middle Kingdom* (2009), p. 339-83. See also, C. LILYQUIST, *Ancient Egyptian Mirrors* (1979), p. 42.

⁹⁸ M. BIETAK, The Capital of Hyksos (1996).

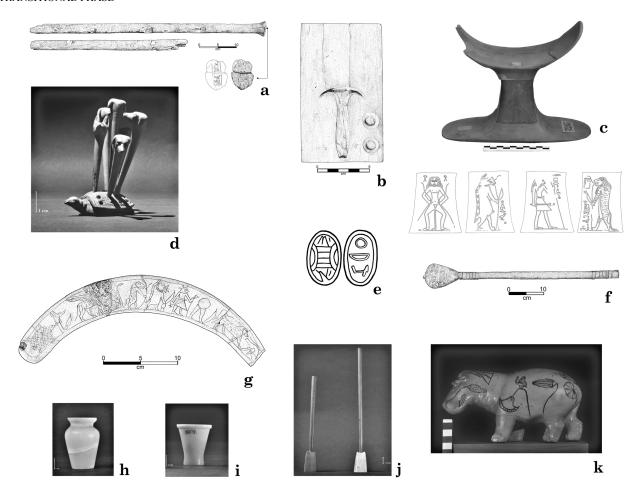


Fig. 14 The funerary equipment of the "accountant of the main enclosure" Neferhotep - (a) walking stick, JE 6157; (b) mirror tray, JE 6142/CG 44102; (c) headrest, JE 6143; (d) holder in the form of a turtle with wooden hound and jackal gaming-pieces, JE 6146-6152/CG 44414; (e) double scarab, JE 6153; (f) mace with piriform head, JE 6154; (g) hippopotamus birth tusk, JE 6155/CG 9437; (h) shoulder jar, JE 6145/CG 18154; (i) cylinder jar, JE 6144/CG 18079; (j) writing implements, JE 6140-6141; (k) faience hippopotamus, JE 6156. Credits: © reproduction courtesy of Egyptian Museum - Cairo. Photos by G. Miniaci/S. Quirke, drawings by P. Whelan.

but not necessarily the direct successor of the 14th dynasty, is reigning without any power rival in the Memphis-Fayum area. Even so, this phase does not show any irremediable break with the previous phase, since the administrative system seems to survive intact at least into the final stage of the Second Intermediate Period⁹⁹ and the development of the material culture can be linearly followed in its evolution, even if not all the links and steps are clearly perceptible.

At a certain point during the Second Intermediate Period, the proportion of burials recorded at Thebes increased notably, including high as well as middle-class officials: the "overseer of the marshland dwellers" Senebni and the "king's ornament", perhaps his wife, Khonsu,¹⁰⁰ the "high steward" Khonsumes¹⁰¹ (see Fig. 15), the "overseer of the field" Ibia, ¹⁰² the "general of the ruler's crew" Hemenhetep, ¹⁰³ the "king's ornaments"

⁹⁹ S. QUIRKE, *The Regular Titles* (1986), p. 108-30.

¹⁰⁰ Coffins T10C (Senebni) and T6C (Khonsu), following the attribution list in H. WILLEMS, *Chests of Life* (1988), p. 19-40, now in Cairo Museum, CG 28029 and CG 28028; see O.D. BERLEV, *A contemporary of King Sewah-en-Re* (1974), p. 106-13, pls. 26-8 (coffins + canopic chests).

p. 106-13, pls. 26-8 (coffins + canopic chests).

101 Canopic chest in Cairo Museum, CG 4732, see G.A. REISNER, *Canopics* (1967), p. 364-5; B. LÜSCHER, *Untersuchungen zu ägyptischen Kanopenkästen* (1990), p. 57, 103. See now G. MINIACI, *The canopic box of Khonswmes* (2010), p. 17-30. The Theban provenance remains uncertain, although highly likely.

¹⁰² PM I², 2, p. 654; W. GRAJETZKI, *Die höchsten Beamten* (2000), p. 136, V.18.

¹⁰³ Coffin T13C (case) in the Chicago Natural History Museum A.105215 (unpublished) + the lid in Cairo Museum CG 28126, see PM I², 2, p. 657 and M.P. LACAU, *Sarcophages antérieurs au Nouvel Empire* (1906), vol. II, p. 144-5, vol. I, p. 79-80, pl. 16 (only the lid; the case belongs to Nubherredi). Also belonging to the "general of the ruler's crew" Hemenhetep is a canopic box of the black type inscribed for a man with the same name and title, see B. LÜSCHER, *Untersuchungen zu ägyptischen Kanopenkästen* (1990), p. 57-8, 101 (35), now in Cairo Museum CG 4731, G.A. REISNER, *Canopics* (1967), p. 362-4.

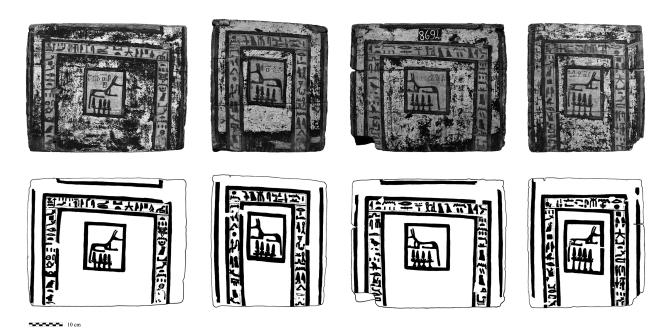


Fig. 15 Canopic box of the "high steward" Khonsumes, CG 4732 © reproduction courtesy of Egyptian Museum - Cairo. Photos by G. Miniaci, drawings by P. Whelan.

Nubherredi¹⁰⁴ and Nefnefert, ¹⁰⁵ the "wab-priests" Nemtyemsaf and Ikhet ¹⁰⁶ (see Fig. 09). It is impossible to supply any precise date for them, all 'float' somewhere within the late 13th or the early 17th dynasty. Nevertheless, they all represent the defined identity of a unitary and consistent material culture. Their coffins are similar in the style, sharing a black background pattern, an arched lid with rectangular raised end-pieces, with representations of Isis and Nephthys on the short ends, a high number of text columns on the long sides, and dark green hieroglyphs painted on a light background (or yellow hieroglyphs on a dark background) using an incomplete system for representing the snake and bird signs. The canopic boxes, whenever attested, match the coffins in style and colour scheme, and feature the same black background and recurrent incompleteness of the hieroglyphic signs; only the decorative theme changes slightly with the representation, not as rule, in the middle of each side of a recumbent jackal beneath stylised representations of plants and cloth. 107 This type of coffins and canopic chests did not last into the late 17th dynasty, since they are absent from the larger contexts dated to later periods such as tomb complexes C 37 and C 62 in Asasif (see *infra* p. 84-102). Surprisingly, the incomplete hieroglyphs system, which developed in the north during the late 12th dynasty, is now attested at Thebes just with the appearance of this kind of black coffin.¹⁰⁸ Probably, the presence of high official burials in the Theban necropolis represents the precise moment in which the royal court moved from the north to the south and became definitively established at Thebes.

One of the key burials for this phase belongs to the "royal sealer" htmty bity, "king's acquaintance" rh nswt, "overseer of the marshland dwellers" imy-r shtjw Senebni, which was found, in all probability still intact, in the Theban necropolis (see Fig. 16). Among his grave goods was a staff inscribed with the name of king Sewahenre, 109 the presence of which could provide a more precise dating for the entire group. Unfortunately,

To Coffin T7C, now in Cairo Museum, CG 28030, see PM I², 2, p. 657 and M.P. LACAU, *Sarcophages antérieurs au Nouvel Empire* (1904), vol. I, p. 79-81, pl. 16 (coffin), 23 (mask), vol. II, p. 87-8. The lid is in the Chicago Natural History Museum recorded under the inventory number of Hemenhetep's coffin A.105215, unpublished, and mistakenly recorded as part of the coffin of Hemenhetep.

¹⁰⁵ Coffin T9NY, unpublished, see MMA 32.3.429.

¹⁰⁶ The coffin of Nemtymsaf, T8NY, is unpublished, see MMA 32.3.428. The coffin of Ikhet, T6NY, is also unpublished, see MMA 32.3.430, but known from a photography, W.C. HAYES, *The Scepter of Egypt* (1959), vol. I, p. 347-8, fig. 228. ¹⁰⁷ Compare the pattern of vegetation in the box of Sesenebnef, probably the prototype of such decoration, see B. LÜSCHER, *Untersuchungen zu ägyptischen Kanopenkästen* (1990), p. 28-9, no. 69, pl. 6.

Note that the coffin of Renseneb also seems to belong to the black type, see *supra* n. 57. However, the equipment of Renseneb appears to have been acquired over a significant period of time; the toilet box was made for a different person, while the mirror was produced explicitly for Renseneb, bearing on the handle his name and title, and the coffin was inscribed with incomplete hieroglyphs for Renseneb himself.

¹⁰⁹ O.D. BERLEV, A contemporary of King Sewah-en-Re (1974), p. 111, pl. 28.

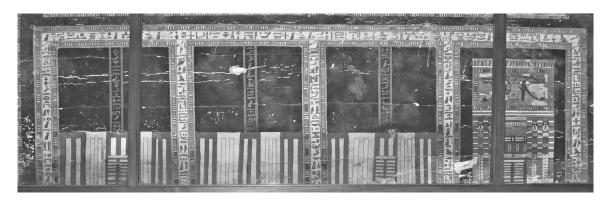


Fig. 16 Rectangular coffin of the "overseer of the marshland dwellers" Senebni, CG 28029 © reproduction courtesy of Egyptian Museum - Cairo. Photo by G. Miniaci.

king Sewahenre is undated, although he is not included among the Turin Canon kings before Wahibre Ibia, and is not among the presumed continuous list of kings after Segenenre Djehuty-aa. Moreover, all the attestations for this king are restricted to the Theban nome (Karnak, Deir el-Bahri, Gurna, Gebelein). 110 Their limited geographical spread supports the view of a much contracted kingdom during the reign of Sewahenre, possibly when the royal court no longer controlled the north of the country and had moved to the south of Egypt. Moreover, the exterior inscriptions on Senebni's coffin contain the Coffin Text spells 777-785, which are formulae attested on coffins only from the late Middle Kingdom onwards and exclusively from Upper Egyptian burials. 111 As these spells, on coffins, have not been found farther north than Abydos and Thebes, they can reasonably pinpoint an advanced phase during the Second Intermediate Period when the Egyptian kingdom had contracted to just Upper Egypt. Contrary to this picture, the title borne by Senebni, "overseer of the marshland dwellers" imy-r shtyw, 112 as suggested by Quirke, links his official activities directly with land east into the Delta, evoking "a shift in administrative and political focus from the Memphis-Fayum region to the eastern Delta periphery" due to the unstable Second Intermediate Period situation along Egypt's eastern borders. 113 Furthermore, the coffin of Senebni is painted at the bottom with a palace façade pattern copying, on a more modest material, the decoration of the late Middle Kingdom hard stone sarcophagi found in elite burials in the northern cemeteries. 114 Thus, a limited Upper Egyptian kingdom and the title borne by an official who, according to his title, 115 would have acted mainly in the north of the country, with a southern black and vaulted-lid coffin type, but inspired by northern models, whilst being buried at Thebes, together create a considerable contradiction. This contradiction can be overcome if one accepts the intriguing hypothesis that

¹¹⁰ K.S.B. RYHOLT, The Political Situation (1997), p. 70-2, 359.

W. Grajetzki, *Bemerkungen zu einigen Spruchtypen* (1998), p. 29-38 and W. Grajetzki, *Box Coffins in the Late Middle Kingdom* (2007), p. 46. See discussion in S. Quirke, *Review "Christine Geisen, Die Totentexte des verschollenen Sarges der Königin Mentuhotep"* (2005), p. 230-1. See now W. Grajetzki, *The coffin of Zemathor* (2010), p. 61-87.

The coffin of this title see S. Quirke, *Titles and bureaux* (2004), p. 70-1. See also W. Grajetzki, *Court Officials* (2009), p. 82-3.

¹¹³ S. Quirke, *Identifying the officials of the Fifteenth Dynasty* (2004), p. 184.

¹¹⁴ Cf. N. FARAG, Z. ISKANDER, The Discovery of Neferwptah (1971), p. 18-19, figs. 13-4, or D. ARNOLD, The Pyramid Complex of Senwosret III (2002), pls. 19, 28, 65, 104-5, 111-3. According to Dieter Arnold the panelled sarcophagi pattern is not connected with the rank of its owner, but rather with a local tradition, deriving from the architecture of Djoser's complex at Saqqara, D. ARNOLD, The Pyramid Complex of Senwosret III (2002), p. 36. Dieter Arnold bases his thesis mainly on the plain style of the Senusret III sarcophagus found at Abydos. Nevertheless, compare the recently found group of miniature royal sarcophagi of the University of Pennsylvania from South Abydos, whose panel pattern may derive from the Early Dynastic palace-façade architecture, as inspired by the royal enclosure still standing at Abydos, Jo. WEGNER, A Group of Miniature Royal Sarcophagi (2010), p. 767-93.

Actually, there is another "overseer of the marshland dwellers" belonging to a late phase of the Second Intermediate Period, Qemau, known from an inscription curved in the rock during an expedition to the *wadi* Hammamat under the king Sekhemre Wadjkhau Sobekemsaf, see A. GASSE, *Une expédition au Ou-ad Ham-am-at* (1987), p. 206-18. The position of this king called Sobekemsaf in the Second Intermediate Period is still disputed and cannot be dated if not in a broad period from the late 13th to the 17th dynasty, see C. VANDERSLEYEN, *Rahotep, Sébekemsaf Ier et Djéhouty* (1993), p. 189-91. In conclusion, we do not have any sticking information that Qemau did belong to the phase when Egyptian kings still controlled the eastern Delta.

Senebni could straddle exactly the transitional period when the royal residence moved from Ititawy to Upper Egypt. Although the inscribed formulae CT 777-785 reveal a corpus that may indicate a southern tradition, they were drawn from elements of rites composed long before their appearance on these coffins. 116 Furthermore, the firmly attested use of the black coffin type at Thebes is contemporaneously mirrored in the north at Saggara, where a black coffin with vaulted lid and raised end pieces inscribed for one Hetepti was found undisturbed in a chamber off a tomb shaft (see Fig. 17). Judging by its burial equipment, Hetepti's burial does not seem to be later than the Second Intermediate Period. 117 This simultaneity once more confirms how the black type, and consequently the position of Senebni, could belong to a transitional phase when the shift in power from Ititawy to Thebes materialised in the first instance by a simple transition of cultural and material traditions, and later by further decoding and re-adaptations for the different geographical - and cultural - background.

The burial of queen Mentuhotep, although recorded only partially, may represent a slightly later stage in this attempt to reshape this second phase. The queen's coffin was found Saqqara, from C.M. FIRTH, B.G. GUNN, Excavations at Thebes during the 19th century, but has since been lost. Fortunately, in 1832 John Gardner Wilkinson made a careful copy of the outside layout and the inner inscriptions. 118

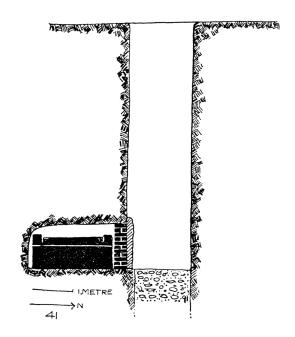


Fig. 17 Section of Hetepti's tomb, burial 41 at at Saggara (1926), p. 59, fig. 65.

Judging by its main features, the coffin seems to belong to the rectangular type attested at Thebes during this phase. The outside of the coffin, whose background colour was not recorded by Wilkinson, is decorated with up to nine columns of hieroglyphs on the long and short sides giving CT 777-784 and inscribed with incomplete hieroglyphs, even those used in the spelling of the queen's name. Different from most coffins, the lid was shaped as a pr-wr shrine¹¹⁹ and the inner walls contained blocks of text spaced around the body, three belonging to the Coffin Text spells, and the others being early versions of the Book of the Dead. 120 Thus, the tradition of inscribing religious formulae on the inner sides of rectangular coffins (re-?) appears again in southern Egypt after a period in which they are temporarily absent in the surviving sources.¹²¹ Even in this case, the line of development which combines the northern tradition with the southern one is direct and without interruption, as the last coffin before Mentuhotep to have employed Coffin Texts on its insides belongs to the "chief lector" Sesenebnef and was found at Lisht. 122 However, Mentuhotep's coffin does not belong completely to a new tradition, a tradition re-elaborating and producing new religious compositions, since it includes the earliest copies of some of the Book of the Dead chapters, but rather it still belongs to the CT world, as its interior coffin walls are still the surfaces for compositions deployed to regenerate the deceased, following the Middle Kingdom tradition.¹²³ The queen's coffin is once again undated, but a canopic chest brought to light in the Theban

¹¹⁶ See T.G. ALLEN, The Book of the Dead (1974), p. 186; S. QUIRKE, Review "Christine Geisen, Die Totentexte des verschollenen Sarges der Königin Mentuhotep" (2005), p. 231.

¹¹⁷ The coffin belonging to Hetepti was found undisturbed in a chamber off shaft (burial no. 41 in the Teti cemeteries at Saggara), see C.M. FIRTH, B.G. GUNN, Teti pyramid cemeteries (1926), p. 59, figs. 64-5, pl. 37. I am indebted to Wolfram Grajetzki who drew my attention to this burial. Perhaps also the coffin of the "royal sealer" and "treasurer" Amenhotep could have belonged to this black type, as Jacques de Morgan records a "couleur sombre" for a piece of the lid, see J. de MORGAN, Fouilles à Dahchour (1903), p. 70.

¹¹⁸ "A wooden sarcophagus of a queen in which are 10 hieratic tablets- Goorna, Thebes", Wilkinson Mss. dep. a. 17 Fol. 21v, Bodleian Library, University of Oxford, UK.

¹¹⁹ E.A.W. BUDGE, *Facsimiles* (1910), pl. 48. The shape of the lid belongs also to the outer coffin of the "steward" Mentuhotep, see T1Be, in G. STEINDORFF, Das Grab des Mentuhotep (1896), p. 3-4.

¹²⁰ C. GEISEN, Die Totentexte des verschollenen Sarges der Königin Mentuhotep (2004).

¹²¹ The lack of sources can be due to the chance survival of archaeological remains, the Egyptians having entrusted their religious texts to a highly vulnerable source category, but it could also reflect the scant frequency they appear in this period.

¹²² J.-E. GAUTIER, G. JÉQUIER, *Mémoire sur les fouilles de Licht* (1902), p. 76-7, figs. 95-6, pls. 16-25.

¹²³ S. QUIRKE, Review "Christine Geisen, Die Totentexte des verschollenen Sarges der Königin Mentuhotep" (2005), p. 223-4.

necropolis belonged to king Diehuty and was presented by him to a similarly named queen Mentuhotep.¹²⁴ The queen referred to on these two objects seems to be the same person. Once again, king Djehuty's position floats unanchored within the late 13th and early 17th dynasty. 125 The shape of his canopic box, with an arched lid, raised end-pieces (see Fig. 118), and the presence of incomplete hieroglyphs, places this object approximately within the same material phase to which Senebni belongs. As already noted, both the ornamental hieroglyphic texts on Mentuhotep's coffin and the inscriptions on king Djehuty's canopic box adopt the incomplete hieroglyphs system in an on-going northern influenced tradition, but not all the birds are shown without legs; some of them, particularly the most uncommon birds, such as the swallow (GARDINER, sign list G36), the falcon (GARDINER, sign list G5), or the jabirus (GARDINER, sign list G29), are merely shown without claws and their legs simply represented by vertical strokes. 126 The clawless feature still preserves the incomplete hieroglyphs tradition, but reduces the severity of the anomaly, perhaps in an attempt to present the text in a format more comprehensible to the culture of the time or to a particular region. Moreover, on the canopic box originally inscribed for king Djehuty was added, presumably later, a single line of text recording a dedication formula to the queen "given in the favour of the king to the 'great king's wife' (hmt nswt wrt), 'the associate of the white crown bearer' (hnmt nfr hdt) Mentuhotep". The inscription does not employ incomplete hieroglyphs at all even though it contains two kind of birds (the owl and the quail, GARDINER, sign list G17 and G43) that in the text framing the box are always clearly shown legless. This difference could be due to the diverse type of the inscriptions, one intended for religious purposes, the other for dedication, but the fact that incomplete hieroglyphs affected not all the signs usually destined to this practice might suggest that at a certain point during the Second Intermediate Period the magical danger of certain signs was not fully understood and the tendency was to revert to the better known use of the hieroglyphs. During the second phase, the northern practice of incomplete hieroglyphs seems simply to have been handed down to Thebes, since they appear unsure of applying it in different areas, and when confronted by unusual signs, instances or situations, the emerging behaviour was to adopt the existing tradition rooted in the southern society, namely the use of complete hieroglyphs. 127

Unfortunately for this second phase no intact group has been preserved to understand better the real sequence in the development of the material culture and ritual practices.

Phase 3. The third historical phase corresponds to a period of regeneration of Theban power when the city becomes the capital of a southern kingdom, opposite to the existing powerbase in the north of the country held by the Hyksos rulers. The end of this phase is dominated by warfare between the late 17th dynasty kings (Seqenenre Djehuty-aa, 128 Kamose, and part of Ahmose's reign 129) and those of the 15th dynasty defending Avaris, perhaps involving only kings Apepi and Khamudi. 130 It is in this phase that the *rishi* coffin type is mainly attested and features the social history of Egypt.

The analysis of the corpus of *rishi* coffins can cast new light upon one of the darker periods of Egyptian history main features of this phase reveal new changes, which affect both historical and cultural perspectives.

¹²⁴ The canopic box of king Djehuty is currently in the Egyptian Museum Berlin, inv. no. ABM 1175, see H.E. WINLOCK, *The tombs of the kings of the seventeenth dynasty* (1924), p. 269-72, pl. 15. The description of the discovery, in 1822 along the Dra Abu el-Naga southern slopes, was given in G. PASSALACQUA, *Catalogue raisonné* (1826), p. 25, 154. However, the canopic box seems to have been reused as a toilet box at a later time because Passalacqua had found it with some Third Intermediate Period coffins, see discussion in A. DODSON, *The Canopic Equipment* (1994), p. 38-9 (cat. 24).

¹²⁵ See for the attestations of this king K.S.B. RYHOLT, *The Political Situation* (1997), p. 388 [File 16/2].

¹²⁶ See C. GEISEN, *Die Totentexte des verschollenen Sarges der Königin Mentuhotep* (2004), pls. 3-4. *Cf.* H.M. STEWART, *Egyptian Stelae* (1979), vol. II, pls. 34.3-4, 35.1, 35.4.

¹²⁷ G. MINIACI, The incomplete hieroglyphs (2010), p. 113-34.

¹²⁸ I prefer the reading of the Sequence Tao's name as Sequence Djehuty-aa, which Parlebas convincingly demonstrates Djehuty-aa as plausible and meaningful in contrast to the meaningless Tao, see J. PARLEBAS, *Sur l'origine de la valeur dhwty de X2* (1975), p. 39-43.

The early 18th dynasty is really nothing more than a simple extension of late 17th dynasty culture. The following historical step in the material tradition would begin around the reigns of Hatshepsut and Tuthmosis III, see R. PARKINSON, S. QUIRKE, *The Coffin of Prince Herunefer* (1992), p. 47-8, but also D. POLZ, *Der Beginn des Neuen Reiches* (2007), p. 309-11. The rise of the 18th dynasty, indeed, marks simply a deep removal of the royal family from the private tradition, while the kings customized one their own tradition, the privates and the other elite consistently continue the material development already begun in the last part of the 17th dynasty.

¹³⁰ C. VANDERSLEYEN, Les guerres d'Amosis, (1971).

Dynastic lines

Unfortunately, the royal sequence and the historical reconstruction of the 17th dynasty is certain only for the last two kings, Sequence Djehuty-aa and Kamose, while the other sovereigns float unanchored and forgotten in time within the late 13th-17th dynasties.¹³¹ Due to the results of 19th century excavations, a consistent group of kings can be identified and clustered together because they share a common place of discovery (*i.e.* Dra Abu el-Naga, western Thebes)¹³² and a uniform material culture. Nubkheperre Antef, Sekhemre Wepmaat Antef, Sekhemre Heruhirmaat Antef and one of the kings called Sobekemsaf,¹³³ all appear to belong to a timeline slightly preceding the end of the dynasty. The identity of other kings is still unclear or are scattered through the dynasty.

What is sure is that king Sekhemre Wepmaat Antef preceded one of the two other kings called Antef, since an inscription on the coffin states that it was given "as a gift to him by his brother king Anyotef, beloved of Osiris eternally". 134 Scholars are not unanimous on the identification of the other king Antef who supplied his predecessor with a coffin. 135 The spelling of the name *In-i-nt.f* on the Louvre coffin inscription suggests that we are dealing with Nubkheperre Antef, whose name is in many cases spelled with an infix "i" as it appears on Wepmaat Antef's coffin. 136 Furthermore, the epithet borne by king Wepmaat Antef on his coffin is Antef the Elder, *Int.f-9*, stressing his preeminent and older (?) position. However, it must taken into account also that the name of king Sekhemre Heruhirmaat Antef was originally written with the *In-i-nt.f* spelling on the inscription of his coffin, but was successively changed by superimposing the 9-sign over the *i*-sign, in a meaningless *In-9-nt.f*, unless one reads *Int.f-9*.137 The nature of the change, or the tentative erasure of a sign as suggested by Vandersleyen, 138 could be due to a confusion, later repaired, of the scribes, who were used to writing the name Antef as it was spelt for the most famous, and therefore earlier, Nubkheperre Antef. 139 And, on top of all that, in one sketch made by Wilkinson in his notebook of 1855, the coffins of Wepmaat Antef and Heruhirmaat Antef appear to be buried in a single tomb. 140

While not wishing to open up the intriguing questions raised by the above observations, I would simply like to stress that the three royal coffins seem to be tied inextricably to each other, all belonging to a well defined homogeneous and chronological group (see the following *Chronological table*).

¹³¹ See K.S.B. RYHOLT, *The Political Situation* (1997) and J. von BECKERATH, *Untersuchungen zur politischen Geschichte* (1964) for complete and deep synthesis on the political situation of the Second Intermediate Period and the 17th dynasty. ¹³² See *infra*, p. 70-3.

¹³³ See *infra*, p. 73.

¹³⁴ See Cat. *r***T01P**. See also discussion in H.E. WINLOCK, *The tombs of the kings of the seventeenth dynasty* (1924), p. 236.

¹³⁵ See J. von Beckerath, *Untersuchungen zur politischen Geschichte* (1964), p. 172-3; D. Franke, *Zur Chronologie des Mittleren Reiches* (1988), p. 245-74; J. von Beckerath, *Theban Seventeenth Dynasty* (1999), p. 23; C. Vandersleyen, *Les trois Antef* (2004), p. 67-73; Th. Schneider, *Überlegungen zur Chronologie der thebanischen Könige* (2006), p. 302.

¹³⁶ See recent discussion in D. POLZ, *Der Beginn des Neuen Reiches* (2007), p. 29-31. See also K.S.B. RYHOLT, *The Political Situation in Egypt* (1997), p. 270.

¹³⁷ H.E. WINLOCK, *The tombs of the kings of the seventeenth dynasty* (1924), p. 267.

¹³⁸ C. VANDERSLEYEN, Les trois Antef (2004), p. 70.

¹³⁹ A. DODSON, *On the Internal Chronology* (1991), p. 36. See also discussion in K.S.B. RYHOLT, *The Political Situation* (1997), p. 267-8.

¹⁴⁰ See infra p. 71 and Fig. 65. See also A. DODSON, The Canopic Equipment (1994), p. 42, n. 31.

AD	TK	Kings	Phase
	VII/19	Sobekhotep (I) Sekhemrekhutawy	
	VII/6	Sonbef Sekhemkare	1
	VII/6	Nerikare	1
	VII/7	Amenemhat (V) Sekhemkare	1
	VII/7	Qemaw	1
	VII/8	Siharnedjheritef Hotepibre	1
<u>~</u>	VII/9	Jewefni	1
õ	VII/10	Amenemhat (VI) Sankhibre	1
0	VII/11	Nebnun Semenkare	1
`	VII/12	Sewesekhtawy Sehotepibre	1
_	VII/13	Sewadjkare	1
7	VII/14	Nedjemibre	1
9	VII/15	Sobekhotep (II) Khaankhre	1
Ħ	VII/16	Ranisonb	1
1800 - 1749 BC	VII/17	Hor Awibre	phase 1
()	VII/17	Khabaw Sekhemrekhutawy	וֹבֵי וֹי
	VII/17	Djedkheperew []kare	1 35
	VII/17	Seb	T
	VII/17	Kay	1 -
	VII/18	Amenemhat (VII) Sedjefakare	1
	VII/5	Wegaf Khutawyre	1
	VII/20	Khendjer Woserkare	1
	VII/21	Imyremeshaw Semenkhkare	1
	VII/22	Antef (V) Sehotepkare	1
	VII/23	Seth Meribre	1
	VII/24	Sobekhotep (III) Sekhemresewadjtawy	1
	VII/25	Neferhotep (I) Khasekhemre	1
	VII/26	Sihator Menwadjre	1
	VII/27	Sobekhotep (IV) Khaneferre	1
	VII/28	Sobekhotep (V) Merhetepre	
	VIII/1	Sobekhotep (VI) Khahotepre	1
7	VIII/2	Ibiaw Wahibre	1
4	VIII/3	Aya Merneferre	1
9	VIII/4	Ini Merhotepre	1
`	VIII/5	Sewadjtew Sankhenre	1
1	VIII/5	Ined Mersekhemre	1
\mathcal{L}	VIII/6	Hori Sewadjkare	1
<u>5</u>	VIII/7	Sobekhotep (VII) Merkawre	1
1749 - 1649 BC			phase 2 late 13 th dynasty
\mathbf{C}	VIII/20	Montuhotep (V) Sewadjare	ם ב
	VIII/21	[]mosre] 3th
	VIII/22	Ibi []maatre) c
	VIII/23	Hor(?) []webenre] \ \ \ \ \ \ \ \ \ \ \ \ \ \ \ \ \ \ \
	VIII/24	- Se[]kare] pe
	VIII/25	Sankhptahi Seheqenre	1St
	VIII/26	- []	V
	VIII/27	- Se[]enre, possibly Sewahenre?	1

Late Middle Kingdom

Second Intermediate Period

AD	TK	Kings	Phase
	X/31	-	
	XI/1	Djehuty Sekhemre Sementawy	e2
	XI/2	Sobekhotep (VIII) Sekhemre Sewosertawy] <u>=</u>
	XI/3	Neferhotep (III) Sekhemre Sankhtawy] ~ _
	XI/4	Montuhotepi Sankhenre] [2] [b]
	XI/5	Nebiryraw (I) Sewadjenre	phase 2 early 17 th dynasty
	XI/6	Nebiryaw (II) -	д ë
	XI/7	- Semenre	\frac{1}{2}
_	XI/8	Bebiankh Sewoserenre	⊺ ಷ ∣
Ó	XI/9	- Sekhemre Shedwaset	St
1649 - 1550 BC]~
	-	Dedumose (I) Djedhotepre	-
<u></u>	-	Dedumose (II) Djedneferre	1
5	-	Monthemsaf Djedankhre	1
0	-	Montuhotep (VI) Merankhre	1
H	-	Senusret (IV) Seneferibre	
\approx	-	Wepwawemsaf Sekhemre Neferkhaw	
()	-	Pantjeny Sekhemre Khutawy	
	-	Snaaib Menkhawre	
			
	-	Rahotep Sekhemre Wahkhaw	ાં ક ા
	-	Sobekemsaf (I) Sekhemre Shedtawy	
	-	Antef (VI) Sekhemre Wepmaat	17 5
	-	Antef (VIII) Sekhemre Heruhirmaat	h as
	-	Antef (VII) Nubkheperre	phase 3 late 17 th dynasty
	-	Sobekemsaf (II) Sekhemre Wadjkhaw	1
	-	Senakhtenre (?)	38
	-	Segenenre Djehuty-aa	₹
	-	Kamose Wadjkheperre	1

Second Intermediate Period

New Kingdom

Table 02 Chronological table of the 13th and 17th dynasty kings (including those of Ryholt's short-lived Abydos dynasty and the 16th dynasty) arranged following K.S.B. RYHOLT, *The Political Situation* (1997). The dates in the left-hand column are meant to serve only as a rough chronological guide. The abbreviation TK refers to the Turin King-list reconstruction proposed by Ryholt (number of column/number of line). In the right-hand column of the table, the relationship between the kings/dynasties and the phases of the Second Intermediate Period discussed in this book is highlighted.

Chapter 2

The iconography of the rishi coffins

Distinctive features

Luigi Vassalli was the first scholar to use the label *rishi* for this coffin type stating, "[a Drah-bu-neggah] *i sarcofagi a forma di mummia* (...) *hanno un modo di decorazione sui generis che li fa distinguere da quelli di qualunque altra epoca* (...) *due lunghe ali, a vari colori avviluppano tutto il sarcofago* (*è perciò che gli Arabi gli danno il nome Rishi ossia a piume*)";¹⁴¹ thus *rishi* is borrowed from the Arabic word meaning "feathered" and used by the workers of Gurna, or perhaps by their supervisors,¹⁴² from time to time when they found coffins of this kind.

Rishi coffins are defined by their anthropoid shape and feathered design, consisting of a huge pair of wings which cover the lid from the shoulder to the feet. The upper part of the coffin is modelled with the royal *nms*-headdress surrounding a human face. Their workmanship is generally mediocre and most examples are crudely shaped and poorly detailed¹⁴³ (see Fig. 32).

This coffin type appears in the late Middle Kingdom (for private individuals, rarely recorded) and continues throughout the 17th dynasty (for both royal and non-royal coffins)



Fig. 19 Detail of the headdress of the Third Intermediate Period coffin TR 21.11.16.10 © reproduction courtesy of Egyptian Museum - Cairo. Photo by G. Miniaci.

and the first part of the 18th dynasty (only non-royal). While during the first half of the 18th dynasty private *rishi* coffins were gradually replaced by white and black anthropoid coffins, royal coffins of the New Kingdom continued employing the *rishi* decoration, but on these the original pattern was greatly modified, ¹⁴⁴ with the body of the coffin entirely covered both back and front with plumage and enveloped with overlapping rows of finely rendered naturalistic feathers, like a pair of crossed wings. ¹⁴⁵ The 18th dynasty royal models appear reworked in both conceptual and physical design, clearly underlying a different composition that can be differentiated from the original *rishi* coffin. Following this principle, it is preferable to avoid using the *rishi* label for royal coffins of the New Kingdom.

Later, the feather motif re-appears sporadically on private coffins of the dynasties 21-26,¹⁴⁶ but again the design is different from the original *rishi* types, showing the coffin enfolded by a pair of crossing wings (see Fig. 18), or employing feathers only for small sections, like the headdress¹⁴⁷ (see Fig. 19). Again, for these coffins it is preferable to avoid using the *rishi* label.

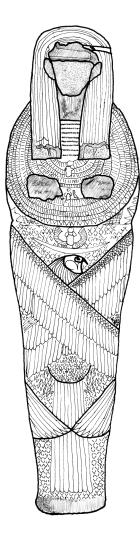


Fig. 18 Lid of the coffin CG 29737, from A. NIWINSKI, 21st Dynasty Coffins from Thebes (1988), pl. 8B. Drawing by G. Miniaci.

¹⁴¹ L. VASSALLI, I monumenti istorici egizi (1867), p. 137.

¹⁴² Cf. S. QUIRKE, Hidden Hands (2010).

¹⁴³ J.H. TAYLOR, *Egyptian Coffins* (1989), p. 28; H. SOUROUZIAN, *Rischi-Sarg* (1984), p. 267-9.

See for instance the coffin of the king Ahmose, M.G. DARESSY, *Cercueils des cachettes royales* (1909), p. 3, pl. 3, CG 61002.

¹⁴⁵ *Cf.* the very finely-detailed feathers on the coffin of queen Meryetamun, see H.E. WINLOCK, *The tomb of queen Meryet-Amun* (1932), pl. 21, or Tutankhamen inner coffin, in N.C. REEVES, *The Complete Tutankhamun* (1990), p. 106-11. ¹⁴⁶ *Cf.* A. NIWINSKI, *21st Dynasty Coffins from Thebes* (1988), pl. 8B.

¹⁴⁷ J.H. TAYLOR, *Theban coffins from the Twenty-second to Twenty-sixth Dynasty* (2003), pls. 61, 64; R. van WALSEM, *The coffin of Djedmonthuiufankh* (1997), vol. I, p. 116, vol. II, pl. 123 [fig. 253, B].

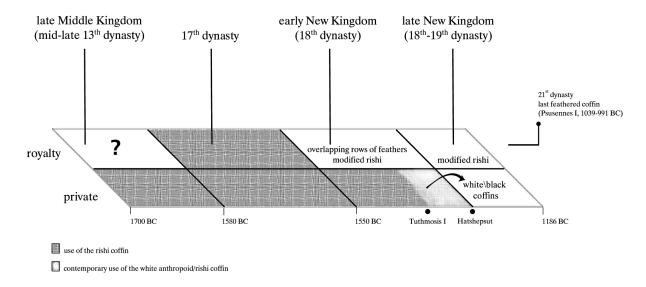


Table 03 Social distribution of the *rishi* coffins arranged in a chronological plan.

No *rishi* coffins are known to have been reused in a later period. Whilst it is true that Pinudjem I re-employed the battered shell of king Tuthmosis I's "*rishi* coffin", it was altered to match the richly gilded and inlaid versions of his other contemporary coffins.¹⁴⁸ Consequently, the *rishi* coffin style is well defined chronologically and the *rishi* label *stricto sensu* cannot be applied to coffins other than those of the Second Intermediate Period-early 18th dynasty.¹⁴⁹

Structure

As noted by Vassalli in his archaeological records, no one *rishi* coffin is exactly identical to another, with each displaying various combinations of decorative elements. Such a high degree of diversification might give the misleading impression of a cottage industry subject to random impulses rather than organised workshops governed by a centralised system. It must be taken into account, however, that the hieroglyphic inscriptions written on most *rishi* coffins¹⁵⁰ required specialist knowledge and possibly centrally controlled workshops. Even the notably high number of *rishi* coffins found at Thebes¹⁵¹ could give a misleading impression that their use was spread across a wide spectrum of society during the Second Intermediate Period, when in fact these coffins were still confined to a restricted part of the population.¹⁵² Perhaps, what actually changes is simply the type and frequency of archaeological records.

The *rishi* coffin shows, despite everything, several recurrent patterns and elements. Usually, they are made of low-quality timber, often sycamore fig, 153 which was used for at least three royal coffins, 154 or other native tree species. The use of sycamore wood can be tied to the political and economic situation of the Second Intermediate Period when the Theban kingdom was cut off from the northern trade routes by the presence of

¹⁴⁸ A. DODSON, S. IKRAM, *The Mummy in Ancient Egypt* (1998), p. 230 and M.G. DARESSY, *Cercueils des cachettes royales* (1909), p. 55 f. (CG 61024).

¹⁴⁹ For the general description of the *rishi* coffins, see W.C. HAYES, *The Scepter of Egypt* (1959), vol. II, p. 29-32; G. MINIACI, *Some remarks on the development of rishi coffins* (2007), p. 94-9, pl. 7.

¹⁵⁰ Around 59% of the coffins analysed in this book bears hieroglyphic inscriptions. Many other coffins would have borne inscriptions that would have faded out being usually painted more than carved. See for instance, M. Betro, G. Miniaci, *The fragments of rishi coffins from the tomb MIDAN.05* (2009), p. 17, pls. 2-3 (*Fr.* Q).

¹⁵¹ See *infra* p. 51 f.

¹⁵² Cf. H. WILLEMS, Les Textes des Sarcophages et la démocratie (2008), p. 149-72.

¹⁵³ See for example the anonymous *rishi* coffin, Cat. *r***T02BM**.

The coffins of the king Nubkheperre Antef, see Cat. **rT01BM** (W.V. DAVIES, *Ancient Egyptian timber imports* (1995), p. 149, no. 32); king Kamose, see Cat. **rT03C** (M.G. DARESSY, *Le cercueil du roi Kamès* (1908), p. 61-3, pl. 9); and the royal daughter Satdjehuty, see Cat. **rX01ÄS** (A. GRIMM, S. SCHOSKE, *Im Zeichen des Mondes* (1999), p. 2, 92, cat. no. 1). They are all made of *ficus sycomorus* wood.

the Hyksos, ¹⁵⁵ rather than to any religious symbolism. ¹⁵⁶ Imported cedar wood was rarely used and the only examples positively attested come from the royal sphere and in a later period when the power of Thebes was increasing and expanding. ¹⁵⁷ Most of the *rishi* coffins are roughly carved from a single tree trunk hollowed out inside, and occasionally fitted with additional elements such as a foot-board, lateral planks, separately modelled ears and even, though rarely, the whole face. No additional parts such as arms, hands, or feet, were applied onto the lid or were drawn in pigment, except for a few atypical coffins belonging to the last transitory phase. ¹⁵⁸

The technique used to shape the body of the coffin has been carefully described by Paul Whelan, who noted the analogous manufacturing techniques between *rishi* coffins and stick shabtis, "a wedge-shaped section of timber is removed from the upper half of a block of wood thus creating an undercut which defines the chin-line of the face and, at the same time, accentuates the upper chest. The same technique, only reversed, is repeated below the midline to



Fig. 20 Detail of the lid (middle, right side) of the anonymous *rishi* coffin Cat. *r*T11C showing a tentative of repairing due to the low quality of the wood used © reproduction courtesy of Egyptian Museum - Cairo. Photo by G. Miniaci.

form the tapered profile of the legs and the angular projection for the feet". Due to the low-quality wood used, knotholes and other defects in the coffin were patched with roughly smoothed pieces of wood or filled with gypsum plaster (see Fig. 20). The inside of the coffin is generally undecorated and often the natural wood is clearly visible, but in a few examples a thin whitish gypsum layer covers the rough wood. So far, only one coffin is known where the underside of the lid serves as a surface for religious texts, but this represents an isolated example which is perhaps evidence of an " α -phase" in *rishi* coffin practice that never took root.

The *rishi* coffin consists essentially of two parts: the lid, mainly decorated with feathers, and the bottom, which is usually undecorated or coated with a monochrome paint, although in some instances part of the lid decoration extends on to it. Usually the lid was pegged in place by the means of 6 tenons fitted into sockets, but for some examples the lid was simply rested on the bottom and tied together with ropes. ¹⁶¹ All known *rishi* coffins are painted or gilded and no example is attested with inlaid work, with perhaps the exception of an inlaid pectoral in the Museum of Fine Arts Boston, which according to its pattern could have belonged to a royal *rishi* coffin of the 17th dynasty. ¹⁶² However, there could be at least one other example of a *rishi* coffin with inlaid work which is not recorded amongst the archaeological sources. The coffin of king Sekhemre Shedtawy Sobekemsaf, as stated in the account of papyrus Amherst, which records the robbery in the 17th dynasty royal cemetery at Thebes during the Ramesside period, had inlays "of all kinds of precious stone". ¹⁶³ The word *mh*, used by the priests who recorded the thieves' confessions, has the core sense of "to fill", ¹⁶⁴ and when used in craft work it clearly means "inlay". ¹⁶⁵

¹⁵⁵ W.V. DAVIES, Ancient Egyptian timber imports (1995), p. 148-9.

¹⁵⁶ Cf. R. MOFTAH, Die uralte Sykomore und andere Erscheinungen der Hathor (1965), p. 40-7.

The royal coffins of queen Ahhotep and Sequencer Djehuty-aa are both made of cedar wood, see Cat. **rT01C**, M.G. DARESSY, Cercueils des cachettes royales (1909), p. 1; and Cat. **rT02C**, H.E. WINLOCK, The tombs of the kings of the seventeenth dynasty (1924), p. 251, n. 5. The coffin of Kamose, which is not earlier in date than the coffin of Sequencer, is made of sycamore wood (see *supra* n. 154); however the absence of the uraeus together with the modest materials employed for the decoration (paint on stucco) indicates that it was an inexpensive coffin of mediocre workmanship, the economy of which is further supported by the fact that it was not made from imported timber, see *infra* p. 27, 125.

¹⁵⁸ See Cat. *r*T09NY and *r*T19MMA.

¹⁵⁹ P. WHELAN, Mere Scraps of Rough Wood? 17th-18th Dynasty Stick Shabtis (2007), p. 27.

¹⁶⁰ See Cat. **rX01ÄS**. See also *infra* p. 151-2.

¹⁶¹ Cf. Earl of CARNARVON, H. CARTER, Five Years' Explorations at Thebes (1912), p. 62, pit-tomb 32. See Cat. rT01CarCa.

¹⁶² P. LACOVARA, An Ancient Egyptian Royal Pectoral (1990), p. 19-29. But see C. LILYQUIST, The Boston/Lafayette jewel (1993), p. 33-44.

pAmherst, 2, 6; see T.E. PEET, The Great Tomb-robberies (1930), p. 48, pl. 5.

¹⁶⁴ R.O. FAULKNER, A Concise Dictionary (1962), p. 113.

¹⁶⁵ Wb. II, 119, 23.

"(3)We found this ⁽⁴⁾noble mummy of this king equipped like a warrior (?). A large number of sacred-eye amulets and ornaments of gold was at his neck, ⁽⁵⁾and his headpiece of gold was on him. The noble mummy of this king was all covered with gold, and his inner coffins ⁽⁶⁾were bedizened with gold and silver inside and outside with inlays of all kind of precious stones. We appropriated the gold ⁽⁷⁾which we found on this noble mummy of this god and on his eye amulets and his ornaments which were at his neck and on the inner coffins in which he lay". (pAmherst, 2, 3-7)

As expected, the text does not state if the coffin belonged to the *rishi* type, because this is a modern definition, but it is highly probable since the king would have reigned during the late 17th dynasty when the *rishi* type was in use, and also because in the Ramesside account the coffin was called *wt* specified with the wood determinative

(GARDINER, sign-list M 3), suggestive of an anthropoid-shaped coffin. ¹⁶⁶ Apart from this isolated and arguable case, the *rishi* coffin of Hornakht shows an unparalleled feature amongst all the other *rishi* coffins; the feathers on the head and the hieroglyphic signs of the inscription were gilded and in relief. ¹⁶⁷

Colours

Although there was considerable variation in the colour schemes used for coffins, a recurring palette of colours can be recognised (see "Table of the Main Features", infra p. 156 f.). The background of the lid was usually painted yellow/bright yellow to represent the life-giving rays of the sun illuminating the coffin. The extensive use of yellow for figures also served as a symbolic substitute for gold. 168 Indeed, most of the royal and the wealthiest coffins were entirely or partially covered by gold leaf. Other colours were also used for the background including a matt pink, white, which was generally avoided for the face, and black 169 or a dark hue of blue.¹⁷⁰ Parts of the coffin, such as the face, the ears, and the feet were often not painted at all. The feathers are usually coloured red, blue, white and green, with black or white tips. In some instance the feathers are completely dark coloured or are painted entirely in green or blue. Amongst the rishi types, the absence of monochrome examples is notable, since it is evident with other kinds of coffin of the late Middle Kingdom/Second Intermediate Period, such as the black rectangular and the so-called plain anthropoid coffin types. The latter kind of coffin, several examples of which were found by Carter in the Second Intermediate Period tombs at Asasif, ¹⁷¹ is a very roughly shaped anthropoid form and its main features are carved in the wood without the addition of paint (see Fig. 21).

Fig. 21 Plain anthropoid coffin from the excavations of Lord Carnarvon and Howard Carter at Asasif, TR 9.12.32.1 © reproduction courtesy of Egyptian Museum - Cairo. Photo by G. Miniaci.

¹⁶⁶ Wb. I, 379, 7.

¹⁶⁷ L. VASSALLI, I monumenti istorici egizi (1867), p. 137. See Cat. rT01VA.

¹⁶⁸ J.H. TAYLOR, Patterns of colouring on ancient Egyptian coffins (2001), p. 166.

¹⁶⁹ See Cat. rX01BO, rT07C. In the coffins Cat. rT04BM and rT02P only the face is painted with a dark colouring.

¹⁷⁰ See the coffin of Rennofer, *infra* p. 127. See Cat. *r*T20MMA.

¹⁷¹ Earl of CARNARVON, H. CARTER, Five Years' Explorations at Thebes (1912), p. 68.

Lid decoration

Although extremely variable differences are evident between each specimen, the lid of the *rishi* coffin nevertheless shows a unitary structure based on a repetitive decorative pattern, here subdivided into specific areas:

a. Headdress. The upper part of the coffin is modelled in the shape of a headdress styled as the nms-headcloth worn by kings¹⁷² (see Fig. 22). Both private and royal coffins share this distinctive headdress, with the only difference being that the latter has a uraeus attached to the middle of the brow.¹⁷³ Curiously, amongst the royal examples, only Kamose's coffin lacks the uraeus feature, strengthening the impression that originally it was not intended for royal use. The adoption and spread of the royal headdress symbol for use on private coffins do not indicate any challenge to, or attempt to usurp, kingship, but rather point towards the ritual identification of the deceased with the king during his perennial rebirth in the afterlife, thus underlining the association of the deceased with Osiris, the ruler of the netherworld. 174

The "Ferryman Spell" CT 398 sheds light on the ritual meaning of the royal headdress appended to the anthropoid coffin: "Come, that you may see me adorned with the mdh-fillet and



Fig. 22 Detail of Nubkheperre Antef's coffin, Cat. *r***T01BM** © Trustees of the British Museum - London. Photo by G. Miniaci.

wearing the 'fn-headcloth of kings. Joy is given to me by means of it". The desire of the deceased to be seen wearing regal symbols such as the fillet and the royal headdress, can be regarded as indispensable elements in his attempt to cross the Winding Waterway in order to reach the Field of Reeds. Moreover, the shape of the mdh-fillet, which is usually ornamented with a floral back-knot and streamers, can be compared to the type of crown employing a head band decorated with a stylised papyrus-knot and streamers, which occur in some late Middle Kingdom burials, and is perhaps still present in those containing rishi coffins. In a passage of the early Middle Kingdom "Shu Spell" CT 75, the speaker, identified through CT 312 with Shu, Isl has attained

¹⁷² K. GOEBS, Untersuchungen zu Funktion und Symbolgehalt des nms (1995), p. 154-81.

Although the uraeus as crown is already attested in some late Middle Kingdom private masks (*e.g.* W.C. HAYES, *The Scepter of Egypt* (1959), vol. I, p. 310), is completely missing from the whole private *rishi* corpus, see "Table of the Main Features", *infra* p. 156 f.

For a brief synthesis, see J. ASSMANN, *The Mind of Egypt* (1996), p. 157-9 with bibliography in notes; but see also recently H. WILLEMS, *Les Textes des Sarcophages et la démocratie* (2008), p. 196-212.

¹⁷⁵ CT V, 158 [398]. See also notes in R.O. FAULKNER, *The ancient Egyptian Coffin texts* (1973), vol. II, p. 36; K. GOEBS, *Crowns in Egyptian Funerary Literature* (2008), p. 103-4.

¹⁷⁶ The history of the "Ferryman Spell" goes back to the PT, in which some utterances are devoted to the ritual perpetuated by the deceased king as he approaches the Winding Waterway in order to cross it and reach the Field of Reeds, see H. WILLEMS, *The Coffin of Hegata* (1996), p. 157-72.

¹⁷⁷ A.H. GARDINER, Egyptian grammar (1957), sign-list S10.

¹⁷⁸ E.E. KERRN, *The Development of the Ornamental "Boatman's Fillet"* (1959), p. 161-88.

¹⁷⁹ J. de MORGAN, *Fouilles à Dahchour* (1895), p. 112, pl. 38, and A. WILKINSON, *Ancient Egyptian Jewellery* (1971), p. 72, pl. 9.

The so-called Antef diadem, see P.A.A. BOESER, *Beschreibung der Ägyptischen Sammlung* (1910), vol. II, p. 8, no. 70, pl. 18 and M.J. RAVEN, *The Antef diadem* (1988), p. 77-90. *Cf.* also another diadem considered to belong to a 17th dynasty burial, see N.C. REEVES, *A newly-discovered royal diadem* (1996), p. 47-8; A. GRIMM, S. SCHOSKE, *Im Zeichen des Mondes* (1999), p. 7, 96, cat. n. 14.

¹⁸¹ H. WILLEMS, *The Coffin of Hegata* (1996), p. 315.



Fig. 23 Detail of the *nms* headdress of the anonymous *rishi* coffin Cat. *r***T08C** © reproduction courtesy of Egyptian Museum - Cairo. Photo by G. Miniaci.

the necessary attribute to ascend to the sky only through the ownership of the royal headdress, here indeed explicitly stated as the nms-headdress, "when they see my dignity. I have claimed my *nemes*-crown from the One who is in his cavern. It is the One who is in his cavern who fetched for me my nemes-crown. I take the dignity of those who are in their caverns, I do not obey magic, for I have already come into being". 182 The possession of the nms-crown is the conditio sine qua non for Shu to pass Ruti, "who is in his cavern, the guardian of the nemes-crown", 183 and enter the place where the body of Atum rests, and ascend to the sky. According to Willems, the Shu spells deal with the hourly vigil and emphasise the role of Shu as the main actor, entering the shrine of the solar bark and merging with his dead father Atum in order to resuscitate him and, at the same time, to assume temporarily his role of a dead god in order to make possible the rebirth.¹⁸⁴ The transposition of Shu's royal attributes, perhaps including also the nms headdress, onto Atum (Osiris/deceased)¹⁸⁵ is indicated by the final merger of the son with his father, who comes to life as the new ruler/son in the continuous cycle of resuscitation. 186

However, the true *nms*-headdress is attested only with anthropoid coffins of the late Middle Kingdom¹⁸⁷ and is

attested only three times for *rishi* coffins. ¹⁸⁸ Although still employing the scale pattern of the *nms*-headcloth, the headdress of *rishi* coffins is in many cases partly/completely covered by feathers (see Fig. 23). This overlapping of elements is again mirrored in the corpus of Coffin Texts, where, according to Willems, CT spell 75 was replaced as a characteristic lid-text by CT spell 335 on mid- to late 12th dynasty coffins, while still performing the same ritual, albeit with different protagonists Horus/Osiris instead of Shu/Atum. ¹⁸⁹ As noted by Willems, the declaration of CT 335, where the speaker states "I am Min in his procession, and I placed my two feathers on my head" ¹⁹⁰ closely resembles the part of CT 75 where Shu is crowned with the *nms*-headdress. In the gloss to the sentence, these feathers are explicitly stated to be his crown placed on his head as the uraeus, "They are his two great plumes which were on the uraei which are at the head of his father Atum". ¹⁹¹ In the replacement of the CT formula, the crown has become feathered. ¹⁹² The *rishi* coffin may reflect part of this new ritual, without replacing older rites, but overlapping the two traditions by applying the new feathered pattern to the older *nms*-headdress.

The connection of feathers with coffin headdresses might have antecedents, or possibly later (?) counterparts, in the archaeological record. For example, tomb 1299 in the Second Intermediate Period cemetery at Sedment

¹⁸² CT I, 368/9b-372/3a [75].

¹⁸³ CT IV, 77b [312]. K. GOEBS, Untersuchungen zu Funktion und Symbolgehalt des nms (1995), p. 154-68.

¹⁸⁴ H. WILLEMS, *The Coffin of Hegata* (1996), p. 321-4.

On the same role of Atum in CT 75 and of Osiris in CT 335, see H. WILLEMS, *The Coffin of Heqata* (1996), p. 273-86; H. WILLEMS, *The Embalmer Embalmed* (1997), p. 360-1. See also *infra* p. 42.

¹⁸⁶ H. WILLEMS, *The Embalmer Embalmed* (1997), p. 363-7.

¹⁸⁷ See for instance the coffins of Sepi or Khnum-Nakht. Colour pictures in W. FORMAN, S. QUIRKE S., *Hieroglyphs and the Afterlife* (1996), p. 94 (Sepi) or R. DAVID, *The Two Brothers* (2007), p. 50-1 (Khnum-Nakht). For the full bibliographic reference, see *infra* n. 988.

¹⁸⁸ See Cat. **rT01BM**, **rT03C**, **rT01P**. About the features of the coffin of Sequence, see Cat. **rT01C**, it is not possible to make any assumptions because of the damage it suffered at the hands of thieves/priests. On the robberies in the Theban necropolis at the end of the New Kingdom see the hypothesis of C. ALDRED, *More Light on the Ramesside Tomb Robberies* (1979), p. 92-9/K. JANSEN-WINKELN, *Die Plünderung der Königsgräber* (1995), p. 62-78. See also G. MINIACI, *Saccheggi nella necropoli tebana* (2008), p. 53-71.

¹⁸⁹ H. WILLEMS, *The Coffin of Hegata* (1996), p. 320-1.

¹⁹⁰ CT IV, 202/3c-d [335].

¹⁹¹ CT IV, 206 [335]. For the var. see R.O. FAULKNER, *The ancient Egyptian Coffin texts* (1973), vol. I, p. 266, n. 16-7.

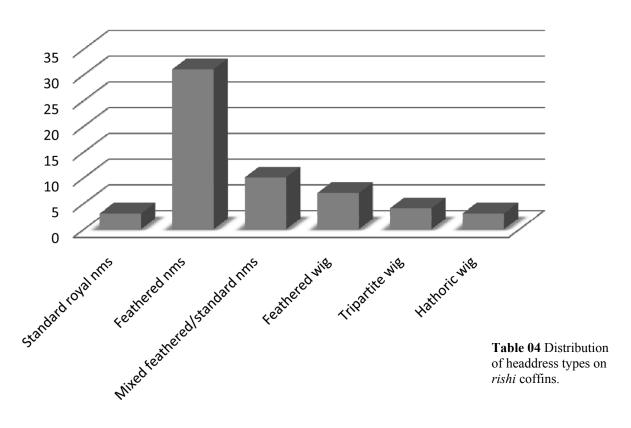
¹⁹² H. WILLEMS, *The Coffin of Heqata* (1996), p. 321.



Fig. 24 Detail of the *nms*-headdress of two *rishi* coffins; (a) coffin of the king Sekhemre Heruhirmaat Antef, Cat. *r*T02P © 1980. Musée du Louvre/Maurice et Pierre Chuzeville; (b) anonymous coffin Cat. *r*T03BM © Trustees of the British Museum - London. Photo by G. Miniaci.

10 cm

b.



contains the burial equipment of a young girl which includes a cluster of feathers, perhaps from a hawk, placed around the head and on the neck under the bandages. ¹⁹³ This could be a kind of archetype or a striking later three dimensional example of the headdress decoration found on *rishi* coffins from Thebes. ¹⁹⁴

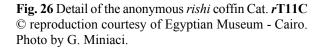
Concluding, what more often appears on *rishi* coffins is an adaptation of the royal headcloth displaying a mixture of feather patterns in the upper part, sometimes arranged within horizontal stripes, and the lower lappet accommodating the simplest scale design of the *nms*-headdress¹⁹⁵ (see Fig. 24). In some instances, the top of the headdress is embellished with the design of a small vulture with outstretched wings.¹⁹⁶ There are a few coffins without the "modified" *nms*-headdress, which instead have a tripartite, flat or a feathered wig¹⁹⁷ (see Table 04).

For female *rishi* coffins, a peculiar kind of headdress was introduced around the end of the 17th dynasty, reproducing the so-called "hathoric wig" or the queenly "vulture headdress",¹⁹⁸ with two voluminous sections of hair passing behind the ears and over the shoulder, and ending in spiral scrolls above the breast. The surface of the hair sections can be patterned with incised or painted vertical lines, or can be entirely covered with the feathers of a vulture, which diminish in size as they approach the queen's ears.¹⁹⁹ Depicted over the headdress is usually the body of a vulture with outstretched with claws grasping two *šn*-signs.

b. Face. The face is usually cut from the same piece of wood as the lid and is poorly modelled, often assuming a wedge- or egg-shape. In the royal examples the face is more finely detailed and in some cases is given distinctive characteristics such as full-bodied lips or a squat nose (see Fig. 22). The features of the face, like



Fig. 25 (left) Detail of Satdjehuty's mask, Cat. rX01ÄS © reproduction courtesy of Staatlische Sammlung Ägyptischer Kunst - München. Photo by G. Miniaci.





5 cm

the nose, the mouth, or the eyes are simply carved in the wood and sometimes are scarcely defined at all. The outline of the eyes and the irises are usually painted black and the eyebrows, if present, can also be rendered in black or in one of the main recurrent colours on coffin.200 A few exceptional coffins have the space for the eyes recessed and inlaid with precious stones in a realistic fashion²⁰¹ (see Fig. 25). The ears are usually modelled almost flat against the wig and are fashioned from the same piece of wood as the lid, or alternatively, they can be simply drawn and painted on the face²⁰² (see Fig. 26). In a

¹⁹³ Burton in W.M.F. PETRIE, G. BRUNTON, Sedment I (1924), p. 18.

¹⁹⁴ W. GRAJETZKI, *Sedment* (2005), p. 34.

¹⁹⁵ See "Table of the Main Features", infra p. 156 f.

¹⁹⁶ See Cat. rX01ÄS, rT05C, rX01Lei, rT02NY, rT08NY.

¹⁹⁷ See Cat. rT05BM, rT04C, rT07C, rT10C, rX02C, rX01Lei, rT02NY, rT04MMA, rT10MMA, rT01Pi.

¹⁹⁸ Do. ARNOLD, The Fragmented Head of a Queen (2006), p. 47-54.

¹⁹⁹ See Cat. **rX01ÄS** (?), **rT02C**, **rT06NY**, **rT09NY**.

²⁰⁰ See for instance, Cat. *r*T03C, *r*T05C.

²⁰¹ See Cat. **rX01ÄS**, **rMo01br**, **rT01BM**, **rT01C**, **rT02C**, **rT21carca**, **rT20MMA**, **rT06NY**, **rT01P**. The eyes of queen Ahhotep's coffin are set in frames of solid gold, which is an unusual feature, H.E. WINLOCK, *The tombs of the kings of the seventeenth dynasty* (1924), p. 251, n. 5. In other instances the presence of inlaid eyes can be only argued from the evidence of the empty cavities present in the faces of the coffin, see Cat. **rT01C**, **rT06C** (?). *Cf.* J. BOURRIAU, *Pharaohs and Mortals* (1988), p. 92, no. 73.

²⁰² See for instance, Cat. rT11C, rT03NY, rT08NY.



Fig. 27 Detail of Kamose's coffin, Cat. *r***T03**C © reproduction courtesy of Egyptian Museum - Cairo. Photo by G. Miniaci.

few exceptional cases they are made as separate elements and joined to the lid^{203} or, in contrast, are totally absent from the original design.²⁰⁴

The face can be left in the natural wood or covered with a thin layer of plaster painted in light colours. It cannot be excluded that the faces, perhaps in a later phase, were modelled from a layer of thicker plaster.²⁰⁵ Most private *rishi* coffins favoured a yellow or yellowish colour probably following royal models, whose faces were made of golden leaf in order to represent the deceased transfigured in the afterlife after being illuminated by the rays of the sun. Since presumably gold could only be afforded by the highest ranking officials and royalty - and it was certainly not used by all the kings in this period - private coffins employed yellow colour as a substitute for gold. Other colours range from mat pink to whitish hues.²⁰⁶ In only three cases, and perhaps belonging to an earlier phase in *rishi* coffin development, the face is painted with a dark colour, signifying a strong association with Osiris and strengthening the symbolic link with death and rebirth.²⁰⁷

Below the chin a thin beard is generally painted and some coffins would have borne an artificial royal beard, surviving only in a few coffins²⁰⁸ (see Fig. 27). Private coffins too adopted the artificial beard as a mark of royal status to which they aspired in the afterlife.

c. Collar. On the chest of the coffin, partly hidden by the lappets of the headcloth, a broad wsh-collar is commonly represented and embellished with drop-shaped beads along its lower end and a pair of hawk's-head shoulder pieces.²⁰⁹ More often than not, over the collar appears a vulture painted with outstretched wings and beside it a cobra, standing with its hood inflated and its tail curling around it (see Fig. 28). The workmanship of the two figures is rather rough and in some cases they show the same awkwardness of design, being, however,

²⁰³ See for instance, Cat. **rT06C**.

²⁰⁴ See Cat. **rT02BM**, **rT08C**, **rT12C**, **rT02P**.

²⁰⁵ W.C. HAYES, *The Scepter of Egypt* (1959), vol. II, p. 32 (here Hayes is not clear if the plaster was applied on the wood or the face was arranged separately from the coffin). See also M. BETRÒ, G. MINIACI, *The fragments of rishi coffins from the tomb MIDAN.05* (2009), p. 14, pl. I.

²⁰⁶ See for instance, Cat. rT02ÄS, rT01NY, rT03NY, rT07NY, rT08NY.

²⁰⁷ J.H. TAYLOR, *Patterns of colouring on ancient Egyptian coffins* (2001), p. 166. See supra n. 169.

²⁰⁸ See Cat. rT01BM, rT03C, rT08CarCa (representation), rT10NY (representation), rT11MMA, rT14MMA, rT19MMA, rT01P (?).

²⁰⁹ T. HANDOUSSA, *Le collier ousekh* (1981), p. 143-50.

a distinguishing feature of coffins of this period.²¹⁰ The figures of the two animals are always simply painted, or covered in gold foil for the royal examples, over the collar. In some instances the cobra is missing²¹¹ (see Table 05).

Again, the wsh-collar, the vulture and the cobra are symbols belonging to a royal tradition, but these had, by this time, already shifted into private sphere. The representation of the collar and of the divine animals could be interpreted as the pictorial re-codification of the ritual of "presenting royal insignia to the king" recorded in texts inscribed in the pyramids of Neit and Pepy II, 212 where, amongst other items, cobra and vulture amulets, *nbw*-collars, a m < n > kr.t pendant and a diadem²¹³ were presented to the king.²¹⁴ The point when the Old Kingdom royal object ritual reached later private coffin decoration may be deduced from the mid-12th dynasty outer coffin of the "estate-overseer" Neferi from el-Bersheh. The head and foot ends bear the same ritual for presenting royal insignia to the king as that found in the pyramids of king Pepy II and Neit, even though the Neferi version is in reverse order to the original. Significantly, it is clear that the inscription was copied from an earlier monument because at several points the name of the person for whom the original had been prepared is preserved; Wahkara Khety, who was evidently a northern king of the First Intermediate Period. 215 In attempting to define the conceptual development of the object frieze. Willems has convincingly demonstrated that the frises d'objets of the coffin group D from Deir el-Bersheh complete the list of royal items listed in the ritual of presenting royal insignia to the king, which are only partially preserved in the inscriptions of the pyramids of the Old Kingdom (see Fig. 29). Beside the already quoted items, the object frieze includes the *nms*-headcloth, the wsh-collar, the crowns of Upper and Lower Egypt, and a series of amulets and jewellery belonging to the royal sphere.²¹⁶ Apart from scattered cases,²¹⁷ the ritual of presenting royal insignia to the king rarely reached a codified form in private tradition during the late Middle Kingdom. The decorative programme of the rishi coffin might reveal a pictorial rendering of this ritual, which seems to have been fully adopted during the Second Intermediate Period for use in the private sphere.²¹⁸



Fig. 28 Drawing of the collar decoration on the coffin of the king Sekhemre Wepmaat Antef, Cat. **rT01P**, from P. LACOVARA, *An Ancient Egyptian Royal Pectoral* (1990), fig. 12.

²¹⁰ See P. LACOVARA, An Ancient Egyptian Royal Pectoral (1990), p. 25-7.

²¹¹ See Cat. rT01ÄS, rT02BM, rT04BM, rT05BM, rT08C, rT09C, rT10C, rT11C, rT12C, rT13C, rT14C, rT15C, rX03C, rT02CarCa, rT01ED, rX01Lei, rT03MMA, rT09MMA, rT11MMA, rT12MMA, rT20MMA, rT01NY, rT02NY, rT07NY, rT08NY, rT09NY, rT02P, rT01PH, rT02VA.

²¹² G. JÉQUIER, Les pyramides des reines Neit et Apoiut (1933), pls. 8, 12.

²¹³ G. JÉQUIER, *Les frises d'objets* (1921), p. 43-7 (diadem). The shape of the diadem represented in the object frieze and in the PT closely resemble that belonging to the king Nubkheperre Antef, see *supra* n. 180. *Cf.* also another diadem considered to belong to a 17th dynasty burial of the same shape, see *supra* n. 180.

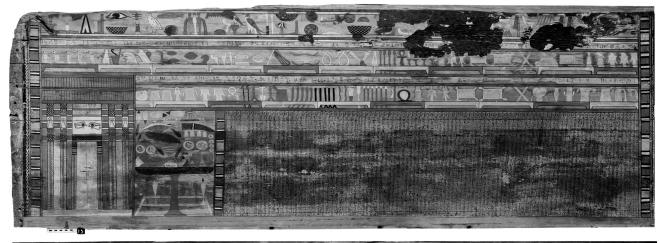
²¹⁴ PT 742-756. For the translation see J.P. ALLEN, *The Ancient Egyptian Pyramid Texts* (2005), p. 251-65 (Pepy II), 314-21 (Neit), in particular p. 315.

²¹⁵ J.P. ALLEN, The funerary texts of King Wahkare Akhtoy (1977), p. 1-29.

²¹⁶ H. WILLEMS, *Chests of Life* (1988), p. 206, 220.

²¹⁷ H. WILLEMS, Les Textes des Sarcophages et la démocratie (2008), p. 146-7.

²¹⁸ See also discussion in G. MINIACI, S. QUIRKE, *Reconceiving the Tomb in the Late Middle Kingdom* (2009), p. 359-61.



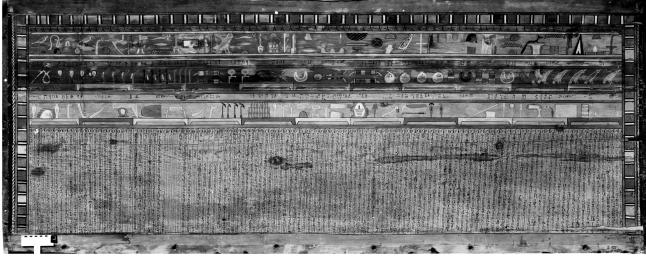


Fig. 29 Eastern and western inner sides of Gwa's coffin from Deir el-Bersheh (B2L), EA 30893© Trustees of the British Museum - London.

d. Column for inscription. The torso of the coffin is divided into two parts by a vertical band, usually inscribed with painted hieroglyphs giving the htp di nswt formula dedicated to Osiris, or the syncretic deity Ptah-Sokar-Osiris, + pri.t-hrw invocation.²¹⁹ Although attested since the Old Kingdom,²²⁰ the choice of this kind of offering formula focusing on Osiris may derive from the ornamental texts of the Middle Kingdom coffin tradition.²²¹ The selection is not coincidental because only one coffin is known, that of king Wepmaat Antef, where the offering formula dedicated to Anubis has been preferred. Probably the choice of the Osiris formula was influenced by its position on the eastern side of the coffin, connected with the rising/resurrection of the sun/Osiris, and where the offering table would be ideologically, if not actually, placed. Again, the rishi coffin seems to embody the rebirth symbolism that was previously in the old CT world entrusted to a series of objects or rituals. Different religious formulas, indeed, appear on most of the royal coffins, deriving from the short sentences uttered by gods and attested in the pyramidion spells.²²²

²¹⁹ For *pri.t hrw* formula see *Bitte 2* in W. BARTA, *Opferformel* (1968), p. 57-8. Lapp has shown that the *pri.t hrw* formula refers to a recitation accompanying the presentation of food to the deceased during the offering ritual, G. LAPP, *Die Opferformel des Alten Reiches* (1986), p. 91-194. J.J. CLÈRE, *Le fonctionnement grammatical de l'expression pri-hrw* (1935-38), p. 753-97.

²²⁰ W. BARTA, *Opferformel* (1968), p. 233.

²²¹ H. KEES, *Totenglauben* (1956), p. 156 f.; H. WILLEMS, *Chests of Life* (1988), p. 124.

H. WILLEMS, Chests of Life (1988), p. 168 f.; W. GRAJETZKI, Bemerkungen zu einigen Spruchtypen (1998), p. 29-37. On the funerary formulae on three Antef kings coffins, see S. BIRCH, On the formulas of three royal coffins (1869), p. 45-53.

The last part of the hieroglyphic inscription provides the titles and name of the deceased, if indeed they are present at all, since in numerous examples it was left blank or filled with the hieroglyphic group meaning "so and so"223 (see Fig. 30). In other cases the space intended for the inscription was left completely empty, perhaps to be filled in at a later date. Scholars have suggested that these features indicate that this kind of coffin was mass produced for stock and sold readymade.²²⁴ When inscribed, the percentage of rishi coffins employing the incomplete hieroglyph system is fairly low, around 13%, of the inscribed

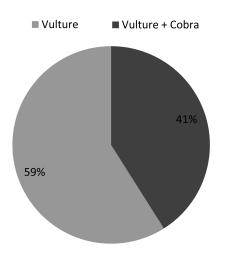


Table 05 Distribution of the vulture cum cobra/only vulture design on *rishi* coffins.



Fig. 30 Detail of the inscription on the anonymous *rishi* coffin Cat. *r*T03BM © Trustees of the British Museum - London. Photo by G. Miniaci.

corpus,²²⁵ and is a figure that generally relates only to earlier (or undated) examples²²⁶ (see Table 06).

The column for the inscription is usually flanked by two vertical ornamental frames, patterned by recurrent

polychrome blocks, most frequently coloured red, blue, green, white and vellow. The same multicoloured band forms part of the inner decoration of numerous rectangular coffins.²²⁷ In a few instances, the band is combined with an ornamental frame resembling a white chain against a black background; an arrangement deriving again from late Middle Kingdom rectangular coffins, and which appears frequently from the time of Amenemhat II onwards.²²⁸ However, in the case of rishi coffins the motif is a purely mechanical copy made from earlier prototypes, because by then the original source of the design was not completely understood. In fact, the chain decoration, known from the late Old Kingdom and also used in a variety of different contexts²²⁹ (see Fig. 31), is composed with an additional segment, rarely visible because it was located at the end of the "chain", depicting upturned semicircles partially covered by fur. As convincingly demonstrated by Walsem, the whole design represents the priestly (?) pattern of a leopard's

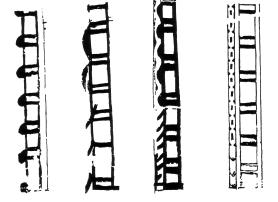


Fig. 31 Vertical demarcation in the Ornamental Frame in rectangular coffins, from H. WILLEMS, *Chests of Life* (1988), fig. 22.

Wb II, 64-5. R. HANNIG, Ägyptisches Wörterbuch II (2006), p. 1064. W.C. HAYES, The Scepter of Egypt (1959), vol. II, p. 31. This practice did not appear with the *rishi* coffin but was already regularly attested in some late Middle Kingdom coffins, mostly belonging to the black rectangular coffin type, see W.C. HAYES, *The Scepter of Egypt* (1959), vol. I, p. 348.

²²⁴ J.H. TAYLOR, Death and the Afterlife (2001), p. 224.

The percentage refers only to the examples where signs subject to mutilation are clearly recognisable in the surviving inscription; the other cases, marked with "-" in the "Table of the Main Features" have not been taken into consideration.

²²⁶ See Cat. rT01BM, rX01BO, rT03C, rT05C, rT07carca, rT02VA.

²²⁷ H. WILLEMS, Chests of Life (1988), p. 191-3.

²²⁸ See for example, D. ARNOLD, *Middle Kingdom Tomb Architecture at Lisht* (2009), pls. 86a, 91a; D. POLZ, *Für die Ewigkeit geschaffen* (2007), p. 76, fig. 110.

²²⁹ See for instance, the vertical edges of the walls of the burial chamber, as recorded by Winlock in TT 311, H.E. WINLOCK, *The Egyptian Expedition 1922-1923* (1923), p. 19, fig. 20. See also the drawing of P. Whelan in R. SOLIMAN, *Old and Middle Kingdom Theban Tombs* (2009), p. 99.

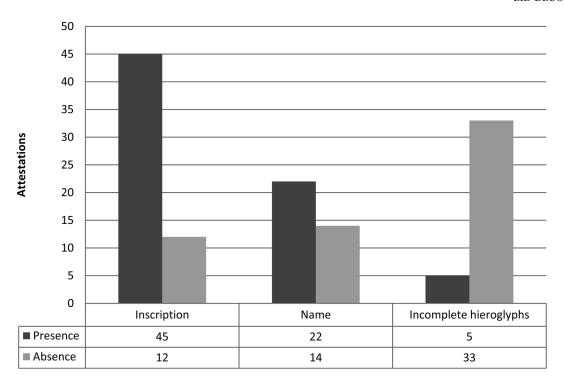


Table 06 Data relating to the column of inscription.

skin and tail.²³⁰ On *rishi* coffins this additional segment is always missing, probably because it was not recognised or understood from their models.

The multicoloured band decoration can, in some instances, be replaced by a basket-weave motif,²³¹ precisely paralleled on a variety of items of the Second Intermediate Period, including royal diadems,²³² the upper part of the *nms*-headdress of Nubkheperre Antef's coffin,²³³ or a funerary mask.²³⁴

e. Shoulder and torso. The remainder of the coffin, which includes shoulders, chest and part of the legs, is commonly decorated with feathers arranged in different and separate layers. The logical arrangement and decoration of the layers mirror the disposition of feathers found in ancient Egyptian figurative art used in representations of a bird with outstretched wings. Unfortunately, the appearance of the feathers is much too stylised to attempt an identification of the bird species as proposed by Mariette and Maspero, who recognised them to be shaped like those of a hawk, vulture, or eagle. The first layer of feathers runs down from the lowest part of the wsh-collar and extends onto the central part of the chest and consists of very short feathers with rounded tips which are arranged symmetrically either side of the inscription column. The internal decoration of these feathers is decidedly stylised usually with a chevron motif. The second layer is generally arranged symmetrically just below the first one, but it is narrower and characterised by longer feathers with rounded tips. These feathers can be patterned with the same recurrent chevron motif or simple horizontal black-ink strokes. The third layer covers, in a similar symmetrical arrangement, the shoulders, the remaining part of the chest, bordering the first two feathers layers without overlapping them, and part of the lower body of the coffin. The feathers are slightly more naturalistic and longer, ending with a pointed tip and detailed with black-ink strokes, perhaps representing the barbs. Where the height of the coffin allows, the third layer pattern

²³⁰ H. WILLEMS, Chests of Life (1988), p. 191.

²³¹ See Cat. *r*Sq01FiGu, *r*T01ÄS, *r*T11C, *r*T13C, *r*T14C, *r*T15C, *r*T01PH, *r*T01MMA, *r*T02MMA, *r*T03MMA, *r*T06MMA, *r*T07MMA, *r*T13MMA, *r*T15MMA.

²³² N.C. REEVES, A newly-discovered royal diadem (1996), p. 47-8.

²³³ See Cat. **rT01BM**.

²³⁴ J. GARSTANG, *Burial customs* (1907), p. 177, fig. 183.

²³⁵ See for instance, A. MARIETTE, *Notice des principaux monuments* (1864), p. 46; G. MASPERO, *Guide du visiteur* (1883), no. 3102.

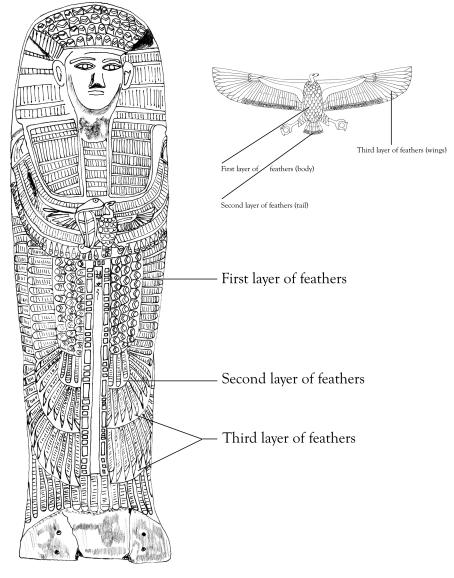


Fig. 32 The anonymous *rishi* coffin Cat. *r***T05NY**, which probably belonged to the king's daughter Nensemekhtuf © Metropolitan Museum of Art - New York. Drawing by G. Miniaci. On the right is the image of a bird with outstretched wing showing the arrangement of the feather layers used on *rishi*-coffins.

is repeated in another layer running below the body of the coffin. In many instances the feathers reach and also cover the upper part of the feet.

The most remarkable features of the feather layers are their mirroring layout and the fact that they do not overlap each other. As shown by this kind of arrangement, the layers of the coffin find their counterpart in the design of the outstretched wing of a bird: the first layer corresponds to the body of the bird, where generally short feathers. resembling drops or circles, are located; the second layer is the tail, which shows narrower and longer feathers with rounded tips running down just below the body; the third layer represents the longer pointed feathers outstretched wing (see Fig. 32).

examples, transverse uninscribed or simply decorated bands can cross the feather decoration. The lid was then divided into compartments by the vertical column with inscription and by the horizontal bands running down from it. Actually, this feature was more likely to have originated from scenes of the embalming process, where the body of the deceased is striped with bands²³⁶ (see Fig. 129) rather than have been inherited from earlier rectangular coffins.²³⁷ Only later would the empty transverse bands become the surface for inscriptions; five rishi coffins feature such a practice.238

f. Lowest layer. Just below the last feather layer and above the foot board some rishi coffins have an additional sector, which I prefer to label "lowest layer" of the lid. This layer is usually decorated with feathers as well, but in some instances it shows peculiar features and designs. In many instances, the feathers depicted in the lowest layer are differentiated from those of the upper layers, being darker and without details and painted on a different coloured background, often white or another bright colour. In other instances, the design consists of spherical and barrel shaped beads arranged in a net or chequerboard pattern²³⁹ (see Fig. 33.a/b). In two cases, two highly detailed jackals recumbent on a shrine are depicted on the right and left sides of the lowest layer²⁴⁰ (see Fig. 33.c). In three cases the lowest layer is decorated with geometrical motifs.²⁴¹

²³⁶ B. LÜSCHER, *Untersuchungen zu Totenbuch Spruch 151* (1998), pls. 2, 5, 7-8. See also N. de Garis DAVIES, *The Tomb of Tetaky* (1925), pl. 5.

²³⁷ J.H. TAYLOR, Death and the Afterlife (2001), p. 225.

²³⁸ See Cat. rT02CarCa, rT16MMA, rT18MMA, rT19MMA, rT20MMA.

²³⁹ See Cat. **rT01BM**, **rT05C**, **rT02VA**.

²⁴⁰ See Cat. **rT16MMA**. In Cat. **rT04C** two shrines are still visible on the lateral sides of the lowest layer, but unfortunately, the rest of the decoration is lost, and the presence of recumbent jackals can be only argued.

²⁴¹ See Cat. **rX01BO**, **rX01Lei**, **rT09MMA**.

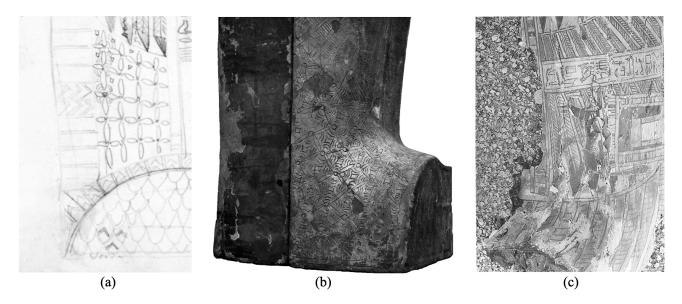


Fig. 33 Three different details of the lowest layer of *rishi* coffins; (a) coffin Cat. *r***T02VA** © Civica Bibioteca d'Arte - Milano; (b) coffin of the king Nubkheperre Antef, Cat. *r***T01BM** © Trustees of the British Museum - London. Photo by G. Miniaci; (c) coffin of Khay, Cat. *r***T16MMA**, photo MMA 5A 377 © The Metropolitan Museum of Art - New York.



Fig. 34 Four different details of the upper foot-board of *rishi* coffins; (a) coffin of the "commander of the ruler's crew" Teti, Cat. *r*T05C; (b) anonymous coffin Cat. *r*T08C; (c) coffin of queen Ahhotep, Cat. *r*T02C; (d) coffin of Montunakht, Cat. *r*X01Lei. Credits: a-c © reproduction courtesy of Egyptian Museum - Cairo. Photos by G. Miniaci; d © courtesy of Rijksmuseum van Oudheden, Leiden.



Fig. 35 Anonymous (mn) Second Intermediate Period canopic box, Cat. 2452 © Egyptian Museum Turin. Photo by G. Miniaci.

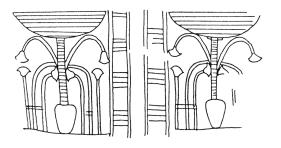


Fig. 36 Drawing of the foot end of the coffin of Sequence Djehuty-aa, Cat. *r***T01**C, from B. LÜSCHER, *Untersuchungen zu Totenbuch Spruch 151* (1998), p. 105 fig. 42.

g. *Upper foot-board*. The upper part of the foot-board does not display a consistent decorative pattern, but wherever the thickness of the area allows, a series of disparate motifs can be found, ranging from the feathers to simple blocks of uniform colour bordered by a frame-line, ²⁴² from geometrical decoration, ²⁴³ composed in some instances by circles or semi circles, to the representation of a pair of sandals, ²⁴⁴ from the short feather decoration of a pair of sandals, recumbent on shrines ²⁴⁶. In one case, along the sides of the upper foot-board, a couple of *hkrw*-signs is depicted ²⁴⁷ (see Fig. 34).

h. Foot end. In most of the coffins this area is reserved for the representation of two kneeling female figures, often identified by short labels as the goddesses Isis and Nephthys shown raising their hands in a gesture of lamentation. In some instances, between the two figures appears the formula, "Words spoken by Isis: I have come to embrace you, o N" (dd mdw in 3st ii.n.i ink tw N), 248 which clearly casts the two female figures as being Isis and Nephthys, connected with the embalming procedure during the hourly vigil.²⁴⁹ In comparison to the late Middle Kingdom rectangular coffin, the space for the depiction of the goddesses changes on the rishi coffin because of the anthropoid shape; consequently they were both moved to a new surface, on the base of the coffin, giving the impression that there was a strong desire to preserve the older iconography. On rishi coffins they are often represented facing each other between a *šn*-ring and kneeling on a nb-sign.²⁵⁰ An alternative motif on the base has two jackals facing each other recumbent on shrines.²⁵¹

The iconography of recumbent jackals is not new, but is connected to the rectangular coffin world through the iconography of certain canopic boxes of the late 13th-early 17th dynasty found in rectangular coffin burials.²⁵² On the canopic boxes the jackal is never shown over a shrine²⁵³ but located above stylised representations of plants and/or cloth²⁵⁴ (see

²⁴² See for instance, Cat. rT03BM, rT04BM, rT03C, rT03NY, rT06NY, rT02P.

²⁴³ See Cat. rX01BO, rT14C, rT02NY, rT06NY, rT08MMA (?), rT09MMA.

²⁴⁴ See Cat. *r*T05C.

²⁴⁵ See Cat. *r*T01BM, *r*T01P, *r*T01VA, *r*T02VA.

²⁴⁶ See Cat. **rT02BM**, **rT08C**, **rT07NY**, **rT11MMA**.

²⁴⁷ See Cat. *r***X01Lei**.

²⁴⁸ See W. GRAJETZKI, The coffin of Zemathor (2010), p. 66.

²⁴⁹ H. WILLEMS, *Chests of Life* (1988), p. 135, 170.

²⁵⁰ See Cat. rT01BM, rT02BM, rT04BM, rT03C, rT06C, rT03CarCa, rT16MMA, rT04NY; without šn- or nb-sings: rT04C, rX01C, rT05NY, rT07NY, rT01CarCa, rT02C.

²⁵¹ See Cat. *r*T12C, *r*T15C.

²⁵² See B. LÜSCHER, *Untersuchungen zu ägyptischen Kanopenkästen* (1990), p. 62-3. See for instance the canopic box of Khonsu/Merj and that of Senebni found with their two black rectangular coffins, O.D. BERLEV, *A contemporary of King Sewah-en-Re* (1974), pls. 26-7.

The only attested iconography of the jackal laying on a shrine during the Second Intermediate Period is in Earl of CARNARVON, H. CARTER, *Five Years' Explorations at Thebes* (1912), pl. 25.

²⁵⁴ Compare the pattern of vegetation with the box of Senebnef, J.-E. GAUTIER, G. JÉQUIER, *Mémoire sur les fouilles de Licht* (1902), p. 74, fig. 94, probably the prototype of this decoration. The canopic boxes of this period show the pattern of "cloth" and "plants" beneath the figure of the recumbent jackal; however a convectional order or shape of these is not attested.

Fig. 35). The coffin of Aabed from Saqqara may reveal how the iconography of the jackal recumbent on a shrine had already (?) moved to the rectangular coffin.²⁵⁵ This coffin can be approximately dated to the Hyksos period, because a dagger bearing the cartouche of king Apophis was found inside.²⁵⁶ However, we should not overlook the possibility of influence and exchange in iconography between *rishi* coffins and the persistent rectangular coffin tradition²⁵⁷ in such a late phase of the Second Intermediate Period.²⁵⁸

Sometimes depicted on the base of *rishi* coffins are two $w\underline{d}3t$ -eyes with a δn -sing placed between them and over a greatly stylised palace-façade. Again, this seems to be another arrangement borrowed from rectangular coffins, where in the late Middle Kingdom a painted false door below the eyes was added, sometimes with a δn -ring at the base of the façade. In other instances, a pair of sandals appears on the base of the *rishi* coffin²⁶¹ (see Pl. 8.a), while in another example two nb-signs are represented above the symbol of reunification, sm^3 - t^3wj^{262} (see Fig. 36).

In another case, a *dd*-sign, a pillar or column usually associated with Osiris, is coupled with the *tit*-sign, a girdle-tie usually associated with Isis.²⁶³ Although the association of symbols is apparent from the 3rd dynasty when it occurs on the base of a sandstone statue of king Djoser,²⁶⁴ it is not a frequent element of coffin

iconography. Perhaps only in one doubtful instance does it appear on a rectangular coffin of the early (?) Second Intermediate Period.²⁶⁵ Meanwhile, the motif is absorbed by the BD tradition, appearing in BD 155/156, which is often associated with BD 151 concerning the ritual of embalming.²⁶⁶ In other instances, the base is simply undecorated or covered with a black coating.²⁶⁷

Bottom decoration

The bottom of the coffin is generally undecorated and the bare wood is often left exposed. In a few instances the bottom is treated with a coating of yellow, ²⁶⁸ or black, ²⁶⁹ or decorated with



left exposed. In a few instances the **Fig. 37** Lid and bottom of the anonymous *rishi* coffin Cat. *r***T13**C © reproduction bottom is treated with a coating of courtesy of Egyptian Museum - Cairo. Photo by G. Miniaci.

a pair of thin horizontal lines in black and red paint surrounding the whole case²⁷⁰ (see Fig. 37). As already

²⁵⁵ See G. MINIACI, *The coffin of Aabed* (forthcoming).

²⁵⁶ M.P. LACAU, Sarcophages antérieurs au Nouvel Empire (1906), vol. II, p. 86.

The rectangular coffin would remain in use contemporaneously with the anthropoid coffin at least until the reign of Tuthmosis III, see J.H. TAYLOR, *Egyptian Coffins* (1989), p. 28; A. DODSON, S. IKRAM, *The Mummy in Ancient Egypt* (1998), p. 206; W. GRAJETZKI, *The coffin of Zemathor* (2010).

²⁵⁸ See for instance, the rectangular coffin found at Dra Abu el-Naga in the tomb of the "lady of the house" Teti by the MMA excavations at Thebes, see W.C. HAYES, *The Scepter of Egypt* (1959), vol. II, p. 32, coffin no. MMA 12.181.302.

²⁵⁹ See Cat. **rT01ÄS**, **rT13C**.

²⁶⁰ H. WILLEMS, *Chests of Life* (1988), p. 161-3.

²⁶¹ See Cat. *r***T14C**, *r***T08MMA**, *r***T09MMA**.

²⁶² See Cat. *r***T01C**.

²⁶³ See R. van WALSEM, *The coffin of Djedmonthuiufankh* (1997), p. 29-30. See for instance Cat. **rT08NY**, and *infra* Fig. 96. *Cf.* the same design is reproduced on the back of the armlet of queen Ahhotep, see H.E. WINLOCK, *The tombs of the kings of the seventeenth dynasty* (1924), pl. 17.

²⁶⁴ H. SCHÄFER, Das sogenannte "Blut der Isis" (1927), p. 108-10.

²⁶⁵ See *infra* p. 108 and E. GRAEFE, *Das Grab des Padihorresnet* (2003), vol. I, p. 63; see discussion in W. GRAJETZKI, *Court Officials* (2009), p. 89-91.

²⁶⁶ B. LÜSCHER, Untersuchungen zu Totenbuch Spruch 151 (1998), p. 86-7, 113-4.

²⁶⁷ See for instance, Cat. *r***T05**C.

²⁶⁸ See for instance, Cat. rT03C, rT06C, rT12C.

²⁶⁹ See for instance, Cat. rT05C, rT11C.

²⁷⁰ See Cat. rT13C, rT03CarCa, rT05carca, rT02NY, rT04NY, rT05NY, rT01PH.



Fig. 38 Detail of the *rishi* coffin of the nurse Rai, Cat. *r***T04C** © reproduction courtesy of Egyptian Museum - Cairo. Photo by G. Miniaci.

stated, in some instances part of the decoration of the lid can extend onto the bottom, such as part of the wig or the uninscribed bands crossing the body of the coffin.²⁷¹

a. Scenes. In two instances²⁷² are the sides of the coffin bottom painted with scenes (or "vignettes") similar to those which appear more consistently in the later white anthropoid coffin type.²⁷³ The scenes depict part of the funeral procession and the presentation of meat offerings to the deceased.²⁷⁴

b. Text. The coffin of the nurse

Ray shows an unparalleled feature among *rishi* coffins, since it bears along the sides of the bottom in the space between the transverse bands, text panels preserving some religious inscriptions²⁷⁵ (see Fig. 38). This feature may stress a direct link with the late Middle Kingdom rectangular coffin world, which shows in some instances a similar disposition of the text between the vertical columns on the long sides²⁷⁶ (see Fig. 06).

c. Occasional elements. In two of the later examples, two wd3t-eyes are painted along both sides of the upper part of the case, 277 perhaps recalling the pair of wd3t-eyes placed in a rectangular frame on the eastern side of

Middle Kingdom coffins. It seems that the more the design of the *rishi* coffin evolved, the more there appears to be a deliberate attempt to link with earlier prototypes. However, the more they limited simply to copy the model without a real comprehension. For example, according to the general arrangement of rectangular coffins, the *wdst*-eyes were located on the eastern side, where the offering table was ideally placed and to where the



Fig. 39 Drawing of a long side wall of the *rishi* coffin Cat. *r***T11MMA**, from MMA photo 5A, 555. Drawing by P. Whelan.

deceased would have been turned on its side.²⁷⁸ The presence of two eyes on *rishi* coffins copies the previous motif, but is outside of its original meaning. In other cases, a single panel of the palace-façade decoration can decorate both long sides of the case.²⁷⁹ This pattern follows the *srḫ*-wall layout visible, for example, on several royal model granite sarcophagi of the late Middle Kingdom.²⁸⁰ Occasionally, the long side walls of a *rishi* case bear an unusual pattern consisting of alternating coupled <u>d</u>d- and *tit*-signs decoration²⁸¹ (see Fig. 39).

²⁷¹ See for instance, Cat. **rT05C**.

²⁷² See Cat. rT02CarCa, rT07NY.

²⁷³ M. BARWIK, Typology and Dating of the "White"-type Anthropoid Coffins (1999), p. 14, 16, figs. 4-5.

W.C. HAYES, *The Scepter of Egypt* (1959), vol. II, p. 31-2. B. LÜSCHER, *Untersuchungen zu Totenbuch Spruch 151* (1998), p. 116-7.

²⁷⁵ M.G. DARESSY, Cercueils des cachettes royales (1909), p. 4-7.

²⁷⁶ Cf. W. GRAJETZKI, Box Coffins in the Late Middle Kingdom (2007), p. 41-2.

²⁷⁷ See Cat. *r***T05BM**, *r***T04C**.

²⁷⁸ H. WILLEMS, *Chests of Life* (1988), p. 47.

²⁷⁹ See Cat. **rT05BM**.

²⁸⁰ Jo. WEGNER, A Group of Miniature Royal Sarcophagi (2010), p. 767-93.

²⁸¹ See Cat. *r***T11MMA**, *r***T14MMA** (?).

The origin of the rishi decoration

The feather pattern seems to represent a break with late Middle Kingdom culture, because it cannot be paralleled with any element already present in the previous funerary customs. No parts of the object frieze or other decorative elements from rectangular coffins show the presence of feathers and no objects deposited in late Middle Kingdom burials were feathered. This seems to be the most innovative and striking feature arising during the Second Intermediate Period. For this reason, it poses some problems of identification.

As suggested by Ambrose Lansing, the feathers could simply represent a sacred bird which spreads its body protectively over the deceased.²⁸² Unfortunately, the appearance of the feathers is much too stylised to attempt an identification of the bird species as proposed by Auguste Mariette and Gaston Maspero, who recognised them to be shaped like those of a hawk, vulture, or eagle.²⁸³ According to John Taylor, the feathered pattern applied to anthropoid coffins could represent the winged protection of Isis Nephthys, who enfold the deceased/Osiris.²⁸⁴ This interpretation is highly probable, but only for a later phase when rishi coffins, in use exclusively for the royal entourage, changed the arrangement of their feathers, while it seems not to be the



Fig. 40 The *bas* of Any and his wife Tutu, from a section of the Book of the Dead of the accountant Any. Drawing from J.H. TAYLOR, *Death and the Afterlife* (2001), p. 21, fig. 8.

case with private *rishi* coffins,²⁸⁵ where the layout of the feathers clearly avoids any kind of enfolding action. Moreover, John Taylor has repeatedly argued that the origin of the feather pattern is apparent in the development of mummy masks decorated with the same pattern.²⁸⁶ According to Aidan Dodson and Hourig Sourouzian, the *rishi* decoration might rather represent the *ba* of the deceased (see Fig. 40), which appears during the New Kingdom as a bird with a human face and which better explains the mixed pattern of feather and human features belonging both to the *rishi* decoration.²⁸⁷ However, the *ba* of the deceased represented as a bird occurs most frequently in vignettes from the Book of the Dead and in tomb paintings of the New Kingdom, but it is not a recurrent motif in the ritual culture of the late Middle Kingdom.²⁸⁸ Recently Peter Lacovara has suggested that the feathered pattern could be derived from a royal costume, the coronation robe with its combination of scale and feather patterns, visually assimilated and copied by provincial craftsmen.²⁸⁹ Nevertheless, this theory would imply a lack of ritual symbolism in the earliest stages of *rishi* coffin development and confine the centre of *rishi* coffin manufacture to a marginal geographical area, which Thebes certainly seems not to have been at the end of the Middle Kingdom.

²⁸² A.M. LYTHGOE, A. LANSING, N. de Garis DAVIES, *The Egyptian Expedition 1915-16* (1917), p. 16.

²⁸³ See for instance, A. MARIETTE, *Notice des principaux monuments* (1864), p. 46; G. MASPERO, *Guide du visiteur* (1883), no. 3102.

²⁸⁴ J.H. TAYLOR, *Egyptian Coffins* (1989), p. 28. See also S. IKRAM, *Death and Burial* (2003), p. 114. W. GRAJETZKI, *Sedment* (2005), p. 34.

²⁸⁵ A. Dodson, A Funerary Mask in Durham (1998), p. 95, n. 12.

²⁸⁶ J.H. TAYLOR, *Death and the Afterlife* (2001), p. 223; J.H. TAYLOR, *Masks in Ancient Egypt* (1994), p. 168-89. See also R. van WALSEM, *The coffin of Djedmonthuiufankh* (1997), p. 28.

²⁸⁷ A. DODSON, S. IKRAM, *The Mummy in Ancient Egypt* (1998), 204; A. DODSON, *A Funerary Mask in Durham* (1998), p. 98. H. SOUROUZIAN, *Rischi-Sarg* (1984), p. 269.

²⁸⁸ L.V. ŽABKAR, A Study in the Ba Concept (1968), p. 83. Examples in H. MILDE, The vignettes (1991), p. 32-3.

²⁸⁹ P. LACOVARA, A rishi coffin from Giza (2007), p. 37.

Another possible hypothesis for the origin of the feather design can be drawn from an archaeological observation made by Janine Bourriau, who noted curious features in the Second Intermediate Period Mayana cemetery K at Sedment, notably the inclusion of feathers as part of the funerary equipment, generally distributed around the head and suggestive of a Nubian provenance.²⁹⁰ In addition, other burials containing black feathers have been found in a Second Intermediate Period cemetery at Balabish, in Nubia.²⁹¹ Due to the frequent presence of Nubian elements in 17th dynasty culture,²⁹² perhaps we should not overlook the possibility of Nubian influence on Egyptian material culture during the formation of the Second Intermediate Period. The uncertain dating in the Second Intermediate Period of the Sedment cemetery and the still pioneer research into the interconnections with the Nubian environment in this phase of the Egyptian history, complicate a clear chronological and geographical sequence for "decoding" a possible archaeological explanation in the origin of the *rishi* pattern. However, the debate on the origin of the feather pattern is still open and no one argument seems to be conclusive.

A further possible interpretation for its origin may be rooted in a ritual which occurs with great frequency on rectangular coffin lids of the mid- to late 12th dynasty. As noted by Willems, the occurrence of CT 355 on rectangular coffins is connected with a structural reorganisation of their decoration, resulting in the appearance of an object frieze focusing on mummification and the royal object ritual, the occurrence of a false door below the wd3t-eyes, the recurrence of the palace façade motif, the link with Isis and Nephthys in the external ornamental texts, and the standard formulation of the im3hw-phrases, all elements stressing on the growing popularity of the mummification of the deceased and his resuscitation.²⁹³

The CT 335 concerns the theme of Osiris's rebirth through his young and active son Re, who approaches his dead father in his shrine in order to bring him to life. In CT 335, immediately before sunrise the speaker is identified as one being with the dual identity of Re and Osiris:

"I am One whose two bas are in his two fledglings".

This is the moment when Osiris receives the life-giving sunrays of Re. The gloss appended to this sentence better explains the whole episode:

"What is that? As regards the one whose two *bas* are in his two fledglings, he is Osiris when he entered Mendes. There he found the ba of Re. Then the one embraced the other. Then the one with the two bas came into being".²⁹⁴

At the end of the night Re and Osiris are said to have met and then merged together, resulting in a single being risen from the union of the two *bas*. The spell relates to the theme of rebirth, the son/Re who travels throughout the netherworld to enter the abode of his motionless father/Osiris and gives life to him, through the complete fusion of both individuals into one being. Osiris by means of the identification with Re comes to life again as a new ruler/Re, ready for a new revivifying ritual for his father Osiris.²⁹⁵ Later in the spell, the speaker is identified with the rising sun, highlighting that the merger is indispensable for the rebirth of the deceased, identified with Osiris, and the starting point for a new solar cycle. Moreover, the title of the spell, "going out into the day from the realm of the Dead", explicates the results expected by the formula.²⁹⁶

However, what is remarkable is that the temporary union of Re and Osiris takes place while the two deities are in the form of their *bas*.²⁹⁷ The form of the *bas* of the two gods may be inferred from one of the sentences at the beginning of CT 335, "I am the great *bnw*-bird which is in On", *ink bnw pw* 3 nty m Twnw, whose gloss

²⁹⁰ J. BOURRIAU, *Beyond Avaris* (1997), p. 167. Merrillees dates the cemetery around the end of the Hyksos period, see R.S. MERRILLEES, *Evidence for the bichrome Wheel-Made Ware* (1970), p. 10-25.

²⁹¹ G.A. WAINWRIGHT, *Balabish* (1920), p. 50.

²⁹² In her article, *Mayana K 1300 at Sedment el-Gebel* (2009), p. 289-313, Christine Lilyquist argues on p. 303, "it seems worthwhile to consider whether arriving people didn't make even more contributions to Egyptian material culture than we have recognized".

²⁹³ H. WILLEMS, *The Embalmer Embalmed* (1997), p. 356-7.

²⁹⁴ CT IV, 276/7a-280/1a [335]. The source is represented by the synoptic edition at the basis of the Egyptological text category "Coffin Texts" A. de BUCK, *The Egyptian Coffin Texts* (1935-1961), abbr. CT.

²⁹⁵ Cf. J. ASSMANN, Liturgische Lieder an den Sonnengott (1969), p. 92.

²⁹⁶ CT IV, 184 [335].

²⁹⁷ H. WILLEMS, *The Embalmer Embalmed* (1997), p. 363.

explains "Who is he? He is Osiris".²⁹⁸ The gloss on coffin L1NY²⁹⁹ identifies the bnwbird of CT 335 also with Re,³⁰⁰ as later sources emphasise more strongly.301 The ba-forms of Osiris and Re in CT 335 could have become manifested as the famous bnwbird, i.e. the heron/phoenix,³⁰² which later, in the Book of the Dead, would represent the physical manifestation (bas) of Osiris and Re and whose root "wbn" connects its iconography to the word of "rise, shine", linking topic of the rebirth with the rising sun.303

Spell 335 may provide a plausible explanation of the main feature of *rishi* coffins.

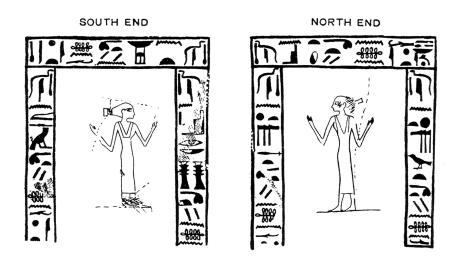


Fig. 41 The short ends of the limestone rectangular coffin belonging to Nakht, found by Garstang at el-Arabah (cemetery E/tomb 252), drawing from J. GARSTANG, *El-Arábah* (1901), pl. 7.

The feathers could not represent the ba of the deceased nor the less probable wings of Isis and Nephthys, but the ba manifested as a bird, perhaps the heron, 304 of Re and Osiris while merging together.

This assumption fits with other features shown by *rishi* coffins, which are firmly rooted in the set of ideas emerging during the presumed reorganisation of the mid- to late 12th dynasty rectangular coffin iconography.

First of all, the anthropoid coffin shape points towards the ritual of mummification, expressed in the mid- to late 12th dynasty both through the CT 335 spell, where the role played by the main protagonist is that of a Horus/Re-like being who is on his way to Osiris in order to embalm him, and the range of frieze objects on the coffin's head and foot ends focusing on the mummification ritual.³⁰⁵ Then, the *nms*-headdress, the *wsh*-collar, the vulture and cobra signs recall the royal elements from the ritual of presenting royal insignia to the king codified in the frieze objects, while the *nms*-headdress and the feathered headdresses recall the statement by the speaker in CT 75/335 for their identification in the Shu/Min coronation (see *supra* p. 28). Finally, the figures of Isis and Nephthys over the feet stress the themes of the Osirian mummification. Brief *im3hw*-formulae in ornamental hieroglyphs mentioning Isis and Nephthys and relating to the rebirth of Osiris/deceased had already appeared on the short sides of the rectangular coffins during the late 12th dynasty³⁰⁶ and by the late Middle Kingdom both sides of the coffin were reserved for the representation of the two goddesses raising their hands

²⁹⁸ CT IV, 199 [335]; gloss CT IV, 200 [335]. Cf. BD 17, in C. GEISEN, Die Totentexte des verschollenen Sarges der Königin Mentuhotep (2004), p. 57.

²⁹⁹ The siglum is that used by A. de BUCK, *The Egyptian Coffin Texts* (1935-1961), with bibliography in H. WILLEMS, *Chests of Life* (1988), p. 19 f.

³⁰⁰ CT 201/c.

³⁰¹ L.V. ŽABKAR, *A Study in the Ba Concept* (1968), p. 13-4.

³⁰² K.H. SETHE, *Der Name des Phönix* (1908), p. 84-5.

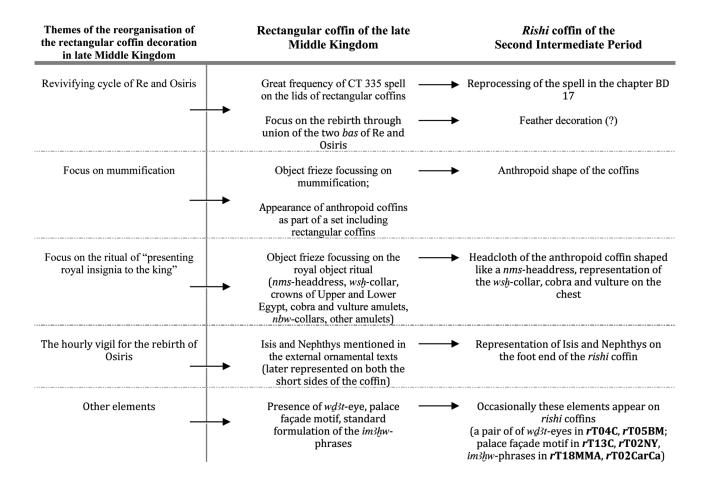
Wb I, 292. Cf. PT 1652 a-b, see also J. BAINES, Bnbn: mythological and linguistic notes (1970), p. 390.

The non-specificity of the feather patterning on *rishi* coffins could be due to multiple points of reference to Egyptian bird-words, as can be seen in the choice of BD 124, 83, 84, 85 which precede the *prt-m-lyrw* selections on the coffin of Satdjehuty and on some early 18th dynasty shrouds, which strongly emphasize different bird forms, see I. MUNRO, *Die Totenbuch-Handschriften der 18. Dynastie*, (1994), vol. II, pl. 11. The birds associated with offerings may bestow on the deceased the ability to fly away from his/her present location towards a place of offerings. I am deeply indebted to Stephen Quirke for this suggestion and the bibliographic references.

³⁰⁵ H. WILLEMS, *The Embalmer Embalmed* (1997), p. 356, 365. H. WILLEMS, *Chests of Life* (1988), p. 200-9, especially, p. 216, 220.

³⁰⁶ W. GRAJETZKI, Another early source for the Book of the Dead (2006), p. 207.

in a gesture of lamentation.³⁰⁷ Once again the iconography and textual sources have been borrowed directly from the rectangular coffin tradition of the late 12th dynasty (see Fig. 41). Their use and spatial arrangement in the rectangular coffin environment can be easily explained following the text of BD 151, with Isis and Nephthys sitting as wailing women at the head and foot end of the mummification bed of Osiris, thus stressing the theme of the mummification and embalming practice during the hourly vigil.³⁰⁸



One may conclude that the feathered pattern comes directly from the social and religious background deriving from the impact of the structural reorganisation in the Theban environment of the decoration and textual programme of rectangular coffins during the transition from the late Middle Kingdom to the Second Intermediate Period. Thebes is the best witness for the reprocessing of CT 355 into BD 17.309 The link between CT 335 and the first appearance of this spell reworked in BD 17 is evident and consistent at Thebes. The late Middle

³⁰⁷ The late Middle Kingdom coffins bearing on their short sides the representation of Isis and Nephtys: Nubherredj -CG 28030-, Khonsu/Merj -CG 28028-, Senebni -CG 28029-, CG 28031, CG 28032, Aabed CG 28108, see P.M. LACAU, Sarcophages antérieurs au Nouvel Empire (1904), vol. I; queen Mentuhotep, see C. GEISEN, Die Totentexte des verschollenen Sarges der Königin Mentuhotep (2004), pls. 1-2; Senebhenaef, see W. GRAJETZKI, Another early source for the Book of the Dead (2006), p. 215; the fragment coffin from Sheikh Farag, see S. D'AURIA, P. LACOVARA, C.H. ROEHRIG, Mummies & Magic (1988), p. 131, no. 63; the anonymous coffin coming from Mirgissa, see J. VERCOUTTER, Mirgissa III. Les nécropoles (1976), p. 291, figs. 12, 13 [2].

³⁰⁸ H. WILLEMS, *The Embalmer Embalmed* (1997), p. 354; B. LÜSCHER, *Untersuchungen zu Totenbuch Spruch 151* (1998), p. 103-7.

³⁰⁹ U. RÖBLER-KÖHLER, *Kapitel 17* (1979), p. 340 f.; U. RÖBLER-KÖHLER, *Einige vorläufige Bemerkungen zu Kap. 17 TB* (1975), p. 14-5.

Kingdom coffins of the "estate overseer" Mentuhotep,³¹⁰ Sobek-ao³¹¹ and Geheset³¹² preserve the CT 355 spell amongst the religious texts on their interior, while the late 13th or early 17th dynasty³¹³ rectangular coffins of the king's son Herunefer and queen Mentuhotep show an archaic composition of BD 17, still containing elements of CT 335 and the Middle Kingdom linguistic structure.³¹⁴ However, it is noteworthy that the BD chapter 17, representing a kind of quintessence of the concepts of the Book of the Dead, comes directly from the Theban elaboration of CT 355. It seems that the Coffin Texts tradition merges into a spatiotemporal continuum where the Theban environment, far from the influential sources at Memphis and Heliopolis, nurtured a re-invention of earlier traditions, from simple re-adaptations to their employment in different contexts, and in new shapes, like the new *rishi* anthropoid coffin.

³¹⁰ G. STEINDORFF, Das Grab des Mentuhotep (1896).

³¹¹ G. STEINDORFF, *Der Sarg des Sobk-o* (1901).

³¹² See A. Loprieno in D. POLZ, Für die Ewigkeit geschaffen (2007), p. 70-80.

³¹³ See S. Quirke, *Review of "Christine Geisen, Die Totentexte des verschollenen Sarges der Königin Mentuhotep"* (2005), p. 228-37; G. Miniaci, *Il potere nella 17a dinastia* (2010), p. 99-131; G. Miniaci, *Through change and tradition* (forthcoming).

³¹⁴ R. PARKINSON, S. QUIRKE, *The Coffin of Prince Herunefer* (1992), p. 47-8; C. GEISEN, *Die Totentexte des verschollenen Sarges der Königin Mentuhotep* (2004), p. 55-78.

Chapter 3

Space coordinates: the geographical distribution of rishi coffins

Rishi coffins outside Thebes

The overwhelming majority of *rishi* coffins come from Thebes. Only a few examples have been positively recorded outside Thebes, and among these five come from the north of the country. The excavations of Firth and Gunn around the Teti pyramid cemetery at Saqqara brought to light an intact burial, labelled N1, containing

an anonymous rishi coffin³¹⁵ (see Fig. 42). The burial equipment included Aegean pottery,³¹⁶ a long thin flask of pale red painted polished ware, small ampoules. alabaster kohl pot and a bronze kohl stick, a toilet box with rectangular ivory inlays, a comb, wooden a basket containing dom nuts and pomegranates, and a scarab of glazed steatite.317 green According to Barry Kemp and Robert Merrillees who assigned some object types to the Late Minoan IB, the whole of burial N1 can be dated to period of transition between the early and the mid 18th dynasty, i.e. around 1525-1475 BC.318

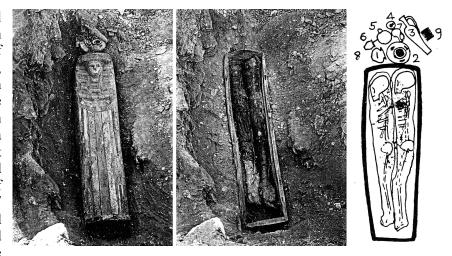


Fig. 42 The anonymous *rishi* coffin coming from the burial N1, around the Teti pyramid cemetery at Saqqara, from C.M. FIRTH, B.G. GUNN, *Excavations at Saqqara* (1926), pl. 42a/b, Fig. 77.

Fragments of another *rishi* coffin were found in an intrusive burial located between *mastabas* 3040 and 3030 in the great western cemetery of Giza during the excavation of Clarence S. Fisher for the University Museum of the University of Pennsylvania.³¹⁹ The fragments were badly decayed and today only the outer cartonnage layer survives.³²⁰

Another three feathered anthropoid coffins were found during the excavations directed by Kanawati north-west of Teti's pyramid at Saqqara, in the burials 30, 32, 34. All three coffins were in very poor state of preservation and often only scant fragments remained;³²¹ therefore it is impossible to make any more precise statement.³²² Indeed, one of the coffins may not belong to the *rishi* type but could belong to the feathered later anthropoid coffin style³²³ (coffin in burial 30).

At least two of these coffins coming from the northern cemeteries show an employment *out of context* when compared to most other *rishi* coffins. The coffin from the Firth and Gunn excavations contained two mummies lying side by side (see Fig. 42). This feature is not unusual to rectangular coffins of the late Second Intermediate

³¹⁵ See Cat. rSq01FiGu.

³¹⁶ B.J. KEMP, R.S. MERRILLEES, *Minoan Pottery* (1980), p. 253.

³¹⁷ C.M. FIRTH, B.G. GUNN, *Teti pyramid cemeteries* (1926), vol. I, p. 69-70, pl. 42.

³¹⁸ B.J. KEMP, R.S. MERRILLEES, *Minoan Pottery* (1980), p. 253.

³¹⁹ See Cat. *r*Gi01BO.

³²⁰ P. LACOVARA, A rishi coffin from Giza (2007), p. 33-8.

³²¹ See Cat. rSq01knw, rSq02knw, rSq03knw.

³²² N. KANAWATI, A. EL-KHOULI, A. MCFARLANE, N.V. MAKSOUD, Excavations at Saggara (1984), p. 68.

³²³ *Cf. supra* p. 23.



Fig. 43 Contents of rectangular coffin 37/**37.59** from el-Birabi, *GIArch*. Carter Mss i.J.060 © reproduced here with permission of the Griffith Institute, University of Oxford, UK.

Period/early 18th dynasty³²⁴ (see Fig. 43), but it appears to be unique to *rishi* coffins, which were generally contained a single body³²⁵ lying on its back.³²⁶ The Giza coffin, despite being accurately made, carefully outlined and elaborately decorated, displays hastily executed hieroglyphic signs; here, the usual *htp di nswt* formula is replaced by an uncommon text belonging to a private autobiography.³²⁷ The coffin was clearly reused by a society which adapted an object originally conceived for a different burial ritual for its own culture.

Moreover, according to their decoration, both coffins can be dated to the later phase of the *rishi* type. The coffin found at Giza belongs to the latest stage of *rishi* type development, because it superimposes transverse bands over the feather decoration,³²⁸ while the decorative pattern on the Saqqara example with its scant feather decoration confined only to the sides of the

coffin can be paralleled with other later rishi examples belonging to the early 18th dynasty. 329

A further four examples come from northern Upper Egypt. Although Brunton's description of an anthropoid coffin coming from the cemetery 3200 (burial no. 3243) at Mostagedda is not extremely detailed, "Rectangular grave, containing a wood anthropoid coffin 180 cm long, painted in red, and light green horizontal bands with vulture on chest. The face was white, and the eyes inlaid with alabaster and obsidian. Down the lid ran a vertical inscription with the usual funerary formula to Ptah-Seker and Osiris, lord of Daddu, the Great God, lord of Abydos. The name of the deceased had been erased, very likely because the coffin had been originally made for some other person", 330 it could be ascribed to the rishi type. 331 Once again the coffin suffered reuse,

See Earl of CARNARVON, H. CARTER, Five Years' Explorations at Thebes (1912), p. 70 f.

only three examples are known to me where two bodies are stored inside a single *rishi* coffin. Two of them contained the mummies of a woman and a small child, in one case resting on her feet. This feature suggests that we are dealing with a mononuclear burial *lato sensu*, see Earl of CARNARVON, H. CARTER, *Five Years' Explorations at Thebes* (1912), p. 71, tomb no. 37, coffin no. 11 (37/37.11, see Cat. *r*T14C) and *MMAArch*. Carter Mss. p. 11 (tomb 62/63), see also *infra* p. 96, see Cat. *r*T21carca. It is not possible to state anything precise about the third *rishi* coffin since it is now lost, but the listing in the *Journal d'Entrée* under the number JE 21420 (see discussion *infra* p. 60) states, "*Caisse riche à l'ouverture on y a trouvé deux momies*", see Cat. *r*T09va. Unfortunately no more details are added to the brief note of the *JE*.

³²⁶ A body in a supine extended position inside an anthropoid coffin is expected but not the rule; however, only two *rishi* coffins within the range of intact burials show the body laying extended on the right and left sides (coffin 62/R11.A.2= Cat. *r*T13MMA -unpublished Theban MMA excavations- and Mostagedda 3243, G. BRUNTON, *Mostagedda and the Tasian Culture* (1937), p. 120). For a discussion about the change of body position in the Second Intermediate Period see J. BOURRIAU, *Change of body position in burial customs during the Middle Kingdom* (2001), p. 7-14, in particular p. 14, n. 25 and p. 17.

The reading of the text "I have gone down to my nome, I have done that which men love and the gods promises in order that I may arrive in the land of Ma'at and that I may come forth from the doors of eternity" has a strict parallel on the Middle Kingdom stela of Antef son of Senet in the British Museum, Hieroglyphic texts from Egyptian stelae (1912), pl. 24.

Also the quality of the painting, very detailed, can be considered a later feature in the *rishi* type, see for instance the coffin decoration of the king Nebpehtyre Ahmose, see M.G. DARESSY, *Cercueils des cachettes royales* (1909), p. 3, pl. 3, CG 61002.

³²⁹ See for instance, the *rishi* coffin found by Bruyère at Deir el-Medina, B. BRUYÈRE, *Les fouilles de Deir el Médineh* (1934-1935) (1937), p. 201; see Cat. *r*T01PH.

³³⁰ G. Brunton, Mostagedda and the Tasian Culture (1937), p. 120.

³³¹ See Cat. rMo01br.



Fig. 44 Coffin fragments from Nag el-Deir, negative C8940 © courtesy of Hearst Museum - Berkeley.

because the name of its original owner had been erased from the inscription.

One fragment of a coffin from the Second Intermediate Period cemetery at Nag el-Deir may belong to the *rishi* type, but from the picture available very little can be said³³² (see Fig. 44).

From the Abydos cemetery, in a tomb labelled C 54, Peet discovered a very poorly preserved fragment from a painted wooden coffin: the motif of spherical and barrel shaped beads arranged in a net pattern is recurrent also in the *rishi* type, ³³³ probably from the first stages of its development ³³⁴ (Fig. 45). However, the mere presence of this small fragment is not sufficient to provide further and clearer information.

At Sedment, Petrie discovered an anthropoid coffin belonging to a woman (see Fig. 157); however, the decoration of this

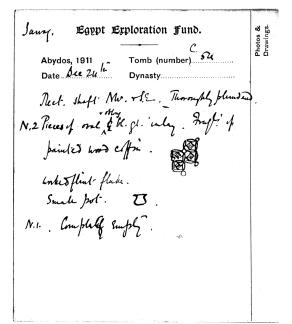
coffin, with the feathers confined only to the headdress, places it outside the evolution of the *rishi* style.³³⁵

No further examples attested outside Thebes are known to the author. Thus, the archaeological evidence strongly suggests that Thebes was the epicentre for *rishi* coffin production and also the most plausible place for their origin, since the oldest specimen comes from there. When found outside Thebes, *rishi* coffins had

already undergone their internal typological transformation and mostly appear with the later design that developed into the white anthropoid type. 336 Moreover, non-Theban coffins were used, or re-used, in an inconsistent way. Given the current state of the archaeological information available, the spread of *rishi* coffins to the north of the country matches exactly with the major impact of Theban culture on the whole of Egypt, and in the north when Ahmose Nebpehetyre definitively extended the political and cultural domain of Thebes northward in his final struggle with the Hyksos. 337

Nevertheless, it should be borne in mind that what appears to be evidence of cultural diffusion is at present based on just a few recorded examples, and further archaeological discoveries could change such a picture.

Fig. 45 Fragment of a *rishi* (?) coffin decoration coming from Abydos cemetery © courtesy of the Egyptian Exploration Society, London.



³³² I am deeply indebted to Peter Lacovara, who helped trace information for me and who also supplied the photo C8940 from the archives of the Hearst Museum, Berkeley.

However, in at least one instance, the same pattern occurs also on a coffin of the 21st dynasty, see A. NIWINSKI, 21st Dynasty Coffins from Thebes (1988), pl. 8B; see also infra Fig. 18.

³³⁴ I am indebted to Wolfram Grajetzki for drawing my attention to this piece.

³³⁵ W.M.F. PETRIE, G. BRUNTON, Sedment (1924), pl. 40.1.

³³⁶ M. BARWIK, *Typology and Dating of the "White"-type Anthropoid Coffins* (1999), p. 8-33, in particular p. 13-5 (group A).

³³⁷ C. VANDERSLEYEN, *L'Egypte et la Vallée du Nil* (1995), vol. II, p. 241-6, 355-62 and C. BARBOTIN, *Ahmosis* (2008), p. 145-57.

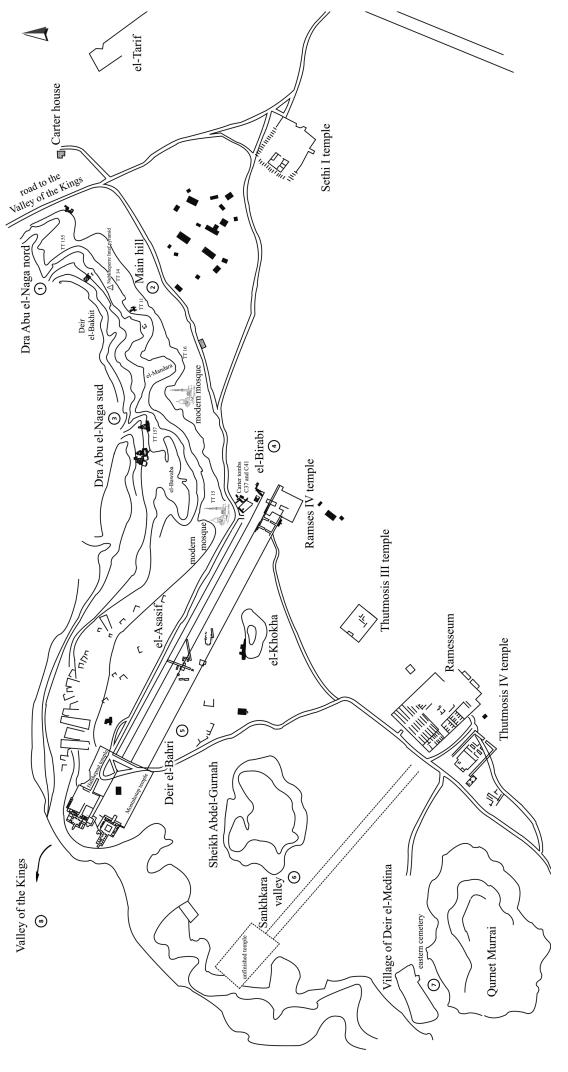


Fig. 46 Map of the Theban necropolis. The circled numbers on the map correspond to the *rishi*-coffin areas listed in the text © copyright and drawing by G. Miniaci.

Theban environment

The presence of *rishi* coffins can be identified in eight well defined areas of the Theban necropolis, most of them roughly corresponding to the main late Middle Kingdom/Second Intermediate Period-early 18th dynasty

cemeteries: 1) Dra Abu el-Naga north; 2) the main hill of Dra Abu el-Naga north; 3) Dra Abu el-Naga south, in the area called el-Mandara; 4) el-Birabi, which is more often identified with the label "Asasif", actually on the eastern part of Dra Abu el-Naga south just bordering the Asasif plain; 5) Deir el-Bahri and the valley of el-Asasif; 6) the Sankhkare cemetery, also known as the third valley, behind the Ramesseum; 7) the eastern cemetery of Deir el-Medina 8) the Valley of the Kings (see Fig. 46). Some late 17th dynasty burials have been recorded in the Valley of the Queens, but unfortunately no types of *rishi* coffin have been identified.

As can be seen in the list above, Dra Abu el-Naga represents the core of the archaeological records for rishi coffins (see "Distribution List", infra p. 205-6). The large amount of *rishi* coffins discovered along the slopes of Dra Abu el-Naga can be easily explained by the main chronological framework in which the area was in use. The area of Dra Abu el-Naga, which served as a necropolis from the First Intermediate Period, 338 began to be employed as royal cemetery by the kings of the 17th dynasty. The tombs of many 17th dynasty kings once lay along the Dra Abu el-Naga slopes as attested by objects from their funerary equipment discovered in the area during 19th and 20th century excavations.³³⁹ Unfortunately, at the present time the location of only one 17th dynasty royal tomb is known - that of Nubkheperre Antef. The royal complex was made up of a small brick pyramid less than 10m square, faced with white plaster and surmounted by a decorated stone pyramidion, and with a pair of obelisks set up in front of it³⁴⁰ (see Fig. 47). It was almost certainly along the slopes of the main hill that king Sekhemre Wepmaat

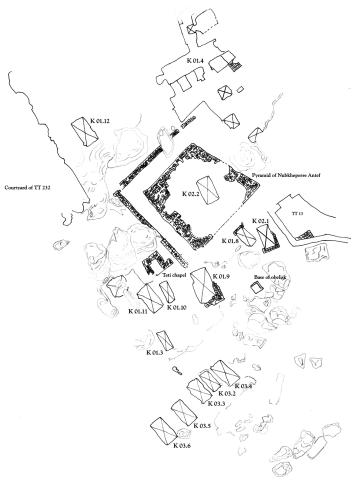


Fig. 47 Plan of the pyramid of Nubkheperre Antef and the surrounding area, from D. POLZ, *Der Beginn des Neuen Reiches* (2007), Faltabb. 1. Drawing by G. Miniaci.

Antef would have built his funerary complex, and where in 2003, not far from the pyramid of Nubkheperre Antef, the German Archaeological Institute found a fragment of his pyramidion. This indicates that the two royal structures were not so far from each other.³⁴¹ At Dra Abu el-Naga south, in an area bordering the cultivated

³³⁸ D. Arnold, *Grabung im Asasif 1963-1970* (1971), vol. I, p. 41; G. Miniaci, *The necropolis of Dra Abu el-Naga* (2009), p. 19-21. See also the recent discoveries of the German Archaeological Institute and the Spanish-Egyptian Mission in Dra Abu el-Naga north, D. Polz *et al.*, *Bericht über die 6.*, *7. und 8. Grabungskampagne* (1999), p. 370-7 (tomb K95.1); J.M. Galán, *Excavations at the Courtyard of the Tomb of Djehuty* (forthcoming). See also tomb -107- located at Dra Abu el-Naga south and assignable to the 11th dynasty following Kampp; discussion in F. Kampp, *Die thebanische Nekropole* (1996), vol. I, p. 20.

³³⁹ H.E. WINLOCK, *The tombs of the kings of the seventeenth dynasty* (1924), p. 217-76, pls. 12-21 and E. THOMAS, *The Royal Necropoleis of Thebes* (1966), p. 36-46.

³⁴⁰ D. Polz, A. Seiler, *Die Pyramidenanlage des Königs Nub-Cheper-Re* (2003); D. Polz, *The pyramid complex of Nubkheperre Intef* (2003), p. 12-5.

³⁴¹ D. Polz, *New archaeological data from Dra' Abu el-Naga* (2010), p. 343-54; see also D. Polz, *Der Beginn des Neuen Reiches* (2007), p. 133. Discussion in G. MINIACI, *La tomba del Re Antef Sekhem-Ra Wpmaat* (2004), p. 61-72.

land known as el-Birabi, Winlock found a small 17th dynasty brick pyramid during the Metropolitan Museum's 1913 excavations, variously and questionably attributed to Kamose, Ahmose,³⁴² or Ahmes Sapair.³⁴³

Following the description of an inspection carried out in the Theban necropolis in the late Ramesside period and recorded in the so-called Abbott papyrus, it can be argued that other tombs of 17th dynasty kings were also located somewhere at Dra Abu el-Naga.³⁴⁴ The whole area appears to have accommodated also a large number of private structures of the 17th dynasty whose owners were allowed to build their tombs around their king's complex.³⁴⁵ With the expulsion of the Hyksos and the following reunification of Egypt, something changed in the general layout of the royal cemetery and the first rulers of the 18th dynasty decided to leave the Dra Abu el-Naga necropolis and cut their tombs behind the cliffs providing the backdrop to the temples at Deir el-Bahri, in the "Valley of the Kings".³⁴⁶ However, Dra Abu el-Naga was not deserted with the departure of the kings and the necropolis continued to host several members of the royal family and some of the highest officials of the early 18th dynasty.

Problems of Topographical Methodology: the Designation Dra Abu el-Naga



Fig. 48 Aerial view of Dra Abu el-Naga north. Photo by M. Betrò.

The designation Dra Abu el-Naga is used to refer to a varied and extensive area.347 The necropolis is made up of two parts consisting of a flat area which is close to the cultivation, and a hilly zone which rises suddenly from the level ground below.348 The southern border is marked by the causeway of Hatshepsut's funerary temple which separates Dra Abu el-Naga from the Deir el-Bahri valley and the Asasif plain,³⁴⁹ while its northern border is defined by the

course and the mouth of the large desert valley known in Arabic as *wadi* Biban el-Muluk, which cuts through the hills and leads to the Valley of the Kings (see Fig. 48). North-east of Dra Abu el-Naga lies the northernmost part of the Theban necropolis called el-Tarif, 350 nowadays almost completely covered by the modern village

 $^{^{342}}$ H.E. WINLOCK, The tombs of the kings of the seventeenth dynasty (1924), p. 262-5 and PM I^2 , 2, p. 620 (possibly Kamose).

³⁴³ D. POLZ, *Der Beginn des Neuen Reiches* (2007), p. 156-9 (the attribution to Ahmes Sapair seems to be highly disputable, see G. MINIACI, *The archaeological exploration of Dra Abu el-Naga* (2009), p. 45, fig. 22).

T.E. PEET, *The Great Tomb-Robberies* (1930), p. 28-45. See discussion in H.E. WINLOCK, *The Rise and Fall* (1947), p. 104-8.

The position of the *jmy-r htmt* "treasurer" Teti chapel (see *supra* p. 51 and Fig. 47) and the shaft K 01.8 is symptomatic of the presence of a private 17th dynasty cemetery around the royal tombs in Dra Abu el-Naga, D. POLZ, *Der Beginn des Neuen Reiches* (2007), p. 241-3, 309.

³⁴⁶ See www.thebanmappingproject.com.

The toponym comes from the name of the modern village which began to develop in this area at the beginning of the 19th century. The Arabic name can be translated as "Abu el-Negga's arm", Abu el-Negga being the name of the local patron saint to whom the small mosque is dedicated and who probably lived in the past along those hills, see A. EL-SHAHAWY, *The Funerary Art of Ancient Egypt* (2005), p. 17.

A more detailed account of the history, morphology and use of the necropolis of Dra Abu el-Naga can be found in G. MINIACI, *The necropolis of Dra Abu el-Naga* (2009), p. 14-33 and K.A. BARD, *Encyclopedia of the Archaeology* (1999), p. 804 (see: *Thebes- Dra Abu el-Naga*, F. KAMPP-SEYFRIED).

For the meaning of this toponym, see *infra* p. 105.

About the area of el-Tarif, see PM I², 2, p. xiv; *LÄ* V, p. 70 under Qurna. See also D. ARNOLD, *Gräber des Alten und Mittleren Reiches* (1976). A good synthesis with bibliography can be found in S. DONADONI, *Tebe* (1999), p. 120-3; N.C. STRUDWICK, H. STRUDWICK, *Thebes in Egypt* (1999), p. 93, 140.

of Gurna which developed in the 19th century around the temple of Sethi I.³⁵¹ Such a delimitation of the region is,

Such a delimitation of the region is, however, completely theoretical and is based solely on topographic interpretations, creating a conceptual schematisation and visual map of an area which has lost most of its original structure. In actuality, the area of Dra Abu el-Naga had no particular designation in the old topography of the necropolis; it seems that this area, like the other Theban hills, was identified with the generic definition of $p_3 dw$ or n_3 dww, or also dww n imnt, "The Western Mountains". 352 These toponyms did not encompass, for instance, the Valley of the Queens which was given the specific name of t3 st nfrw, "The Place (of) Beauty"353 or the Valley of the Kings which was probably named t3 int, "The Valley".354

The ancient toponym *hft-hr-nb-s* occasionally associated with Dra Abu



Fig. 49 Aerial view of Dra Abu el-Naga north (on the left) and the sector of the Theban necropolis north to the *wadi* Biban el-Muluk, Davies Mss. 1.324.24 © reproduced with permission of the Griffith Institute, University of Oxford, UK.

el-Naga³⁵⁵ was not exclusively used to pinpoint this area, but it seems, instead, referred to the whole western area of the Theban necropolis.³⁵⁶ The idea of associating the place-name *st-M3*^c*t* to the area around the temple of Sethi I and the hills of Dra Abu el-Naga, first advanced by Maspero,³⁵⁷ and later extended by Caminos to include the area as far as the Ramesseum,³⁵⁸ is based on an assumption that cannot be proved, *i.e.* that the tomb of Amenhotep I is in Dra Abu el-Naga. In sum, the designation of this part of the Theban necropolis with the label "Dra Abu el-Naga" derives exclusively from a modern convention, which is not even deep rooted in Egyptian historiography.

During the 19th century Egyptologists used the place-name "Dra Abu el-Naga" in a vague way, to indicate a wider or more restricted area. Daressy, for instance, used the label Dra Abu el-Naga to tag an undefined area north of the *wadi* leading to the Valley of the Kings thus "*Drah abou'l Neggah, de la partie de la nécropole située dans la plaine, au nord du torrent qui sort de la Vallée des Rois*"³⁵⁹ (see Fig. 49).

Accordingly, the necropolis in the Asasif is generally separated from Dra Abu el-Naga because it is positioned outside the hypothetical modern border and because it has such distinctive features due to the vicissitudes that affected it at the end of the Third Intermediate Period. Indeed, the archaeological data prove that, in some periods of Egyptian history, the cemetery with its core in Dra Abu el-Naga had a wider extent including also the Asasif valley and the northernmost part of the necropolis (*i.e.* el-Tarif). A division, however conventional, amongst these areas would create an anomaly when reading the ancient sources, from which a distorted historical

³⁵¹ C. SIMPSON, *Modern Qurna* (2003), p. 244-9.

³⁵² J. ČERNY, *A Community of Workmen* (2004), p. 97. Sheikh Abdel-Gurnah hill might have been called *dw bhn*, following E. Otto, *Topographie* (1952), p. 47-8.

³⁵³ C. LEBLANC, *Ta Set Neferou* (1989), p. 14-20.

T.E. PEET, *The Great Tomb-Robberies* (1930), p. 10; J. ČERNY, *A Community of Workmen* (2004), p. 88-90, 94. The word *t3 int* cannot refer exclusively to the Valley of the Kings but could designate any *wadi*, see E. THOMAS, *A Designation of the Valley of the Kings* (1963), p. 57. Discussion in R. VENTURA, *Living in a City of the Dead* (1986), p. 145 f.

³⁵⁵ M. el AMIR, A family Archive from Thebes (1959), p. 68, n. 5.

³⁵⁶ E. Otto, Topographie (1952), p. 49-50; M. Cozi, La nécropole de Khefethernebes (1996), p. 45-7.

³⁵⁷ G. MASPERO, *Rapport à M. Jules Ferry* (1880), p. 166.

For Caminos's proposal to extend the toponym *st-M3^ct* to the Ramesseum, see R.A. CAMINOS, A.H. GARDINER, *Late-Egyptian Miscellanies* (1954), p. 175, 450.

³⁵⁹ M.G. DARESSY, Fragments de stèles (1907), p. 256.

interpretation could arise. Nevertheless, Dra Abu el-Naga does appear to have had its own defined limit in antiquity; indeed, when the priests of the Abbott papyrus, while crossing the hills of Dra Abu el-Naga³⁶⁰ to perform an inspection tour, arrived at the tomb of Montuhotep II, the latter was noted as being in *dsr(t)*³⁶¹ as if to designate that the basin of Deir el-Bahri was already a different area separate from the other parts of the necropolis and from Dra Abu el-Naga. Therefore, whatever designation the ancient Egyptians gave to the area of Dra Abu el-Naga, it certainly ended where the area of Deir el-Bahri began. This distinction was the result of the particular local topography of the land as well as historical developments. In effect, the reign of Montuhotep II represented a clear break within the 11th dynasty. The "programmatic" transfer of the royal cemetery from the area of el-Tarif, which would have soon extended to the hills of Dra Abu el-Naga as well, to the valley of Deir el-Bahri, represented a kind of ideological as well as physical break with the previous tradition.³⁶²

Dra Abu el-Naga north

The northernmost part of Dra Abu el-Naga consists of the large *wadi* mouth called Khawi el-Alamat and a narrow rocky slope that in the 19th century was called Bab abu-Negga, after the name of the man who lived in a tomb there³⁶³ (see Fig. 50).

Mariette's Excavations

During the second half of the 19th century this part of the necropolis was the focus of Auguste Mariette's excavations³⁶⁴ and where in December 1857 he discovered the *rishi* coffin of Kamose, the last king of the 17th dynasty.³⁶⁵ Following the account made by Desjardins, the coffin was hidden in a mass of rubbish into which it had been carelessly dumped on its right side, but was completely undamaged and never robbed; "*Le sarcophage* [Kamose] *découvert par M. Mariette fut trouvé dans une masse de matériaux, au milieu desquels il semblait avoir été déposé. Il n'aurait donc pas été renfermé, comme à l'ordinaire, dans une caveau. Le cercueil était couché sur le côté droit, et cependant il n'avait pas été violé (...)"³⁶⁶ and "<i>Le sarcophage découvert par M. Mariette était confondu dans une masse de matériaux avec lesquels il semblait qu'il eût été pose pêle-mêle, au lieu d'être déposé dans un caveau à l'ordinaire".³⁶⁷ The coffin was not provided with separate funerary equipment, but inside it Mariette found a dagger tied below the shoulder of the mummy³⁶⁸ with a plaited papyrus cord, a scarab, some amulets, a bronze mirror, and a golden cartouche flanked by two golden lion figures.³⁶⁹ The coffin was originally and for long time incorrectly attributed to king Ahmose, since his name was carved in the upper part of the golden cartouche.³⁷⁰ The appearance of another coffin belonging to Ahmose from the <i>cache* at Deir el-Bahri³⁷¹ in 1881 raised a problem that Daressy was able to solve only in

The third tomb inspected by priests of the Abbott papyrus is the tomb of Nubkheperre Antef, recently re-located by the German Archaeological Institute on the main northern hill of Dra Abu el-Naga, south of TT 13, the tomb of Shuroy, see D. POLZ, A. SEILER, *Die Pyramidenanlage des Königs Nub-Cheper-Re* (2003). This is the proof, if needed, after the investigations in the 19th century, that inspectors of the Abbott papyrus crossed Dra Abu el-Naga hills.

pAbbott, 3, 14, T.E. PEET, *The Great Tomb-Robberies* (1930), p. 39. Deir el-Bahri valley was labelled also with the name *int Nbhptr^c* "Nebhepetre Valley" or more simply *pn int* "That of the Valley", see J. ČERNY, *A Community of Workmen* (2004), p. 94.

³⁶² H.E. WINLOCK, The Theban Necropolis in the Middle Kingdom (1915), p. 24.

³⁶³ P.E. NEWBERRY, *Topographical notes* (1906), p. 85, no. 76.

³⁶⁴ For Mariette's excavations in Egypt see E. DAVID, *Mariette Pacha* (1994); on his results in Thebes see G. MINIACI, *The archaeological exploration of Dra Abu el-Naga* (2009), p. 41-3.

³⁶⁵ See cat. *r***T03**C.

³⁶⁶ E. DESJARDINS, *Découvertes de M. Mariette* (1860), p. 53.

³⁶⁷ E. DESJARDINS, *Séance du 11 juin* (1859), p. 120.

³⁶⁸ Following the excavator's report, the mummy was so badly embalmed that it fell to dust once the coffin was opened.

³⁶⁹ F.W. von BISSING, *Ein thebanischer Grabfund* (1892), p. 24, pl. 8, nos. 15-17 (cartouche and lions), no. 19 (mirror), no. 20 (dagger).

On first sight Mariette intuitively stated that the coffin belonged neither to king Ahmose nor to prince Ahmes Sapair, but to another king called Ahmose ("celle d'un roi Ahmès qui n'est ni l'Amosis de Manéthon, ni l'Ahmès sipear du papyrus"), A. MARIETTE, Lettre de M. Aug. Mariette à M. le vicomte de Rougé (1860), p. 29.

³⁷¹ G. MASPERO, *Le momies royales* (1889), p. 533-5 (CG 61002).



Fig. 50 Dra Abu el-Naga north. View from the east. On the right is the narrow rocky slope called Bab abu Neggah; on the left is part of the main hill. Between the two hills lies the mouth of the *wadi* Khawi el-Alamat. Photo by G. Miniaci.

1908, when he read on the foot end of the coffin the name of Kamose, strangely not surrounded by the usual cartouche and partly written outside the band reserved for the inscription³⁷² (see Fig. 51).

One year later, on 5th February 1859, with a gang of 20 workmen and in approximately the same area, Mariette discovered the gilded *rishi* coffin of Ahhotep, a queen of the late 17th dynasty.³⁷³ As stated by Mariette, "*Contre*

toutes les habitudes, Aah-hotep avait été ensevelie, non dans un souterrain précédé d'une chambre mortuaire, mais en pleine terrain et à un mètre à peine du sol", 374 the coffin of Ahhotep was not buried in a funerary structure, but placed at a depth of some meters in the surface-rubbish and sand, similar to that of Kamose. Following the information given by Desjardins, it seems likely that at that time Mariette was working in the plain and onto the hill of Dra Abu el-Naga north next to the entrance of the Valley of the Kings: "Malgré les nombreux explorateurs qui avaient précédé M. Mariette dans la partie de Gournah qui porte le nom de Drah-Aboul-Neggah, il remarqua, presque à l'entrée de la longue vallée qui mène à Biban-el-Moluk, une bande de terrain dont le sol, formé d'éclats de pierres et de poteries brisées, trahissait un de ces lieux de sépulture antique (...). Ce terrain n'avait jamais été fouillé. (...). On retira, le 5 février 1859, d'une fosse de cinq à six mètres, une magnifique cercueil doré [Ahhotep]". 375 The records made by Vassalli give an important clue, asserting that the find-spot of Ahhotep's coffin was nearby the area investigated in the previous season where Kamose's burial was brought to light: "Le tombe di Gurnah sono scavate parte nella collina e parte nella pianura. Alcune delle ultime hanno il pozzo verticale che conduce alla camera sepolcrale, ma la maggior parte ne sono prive. Fu in una di queste che il signor Mariette anni sono scoprì un sarcofago inviolato [Kamose]

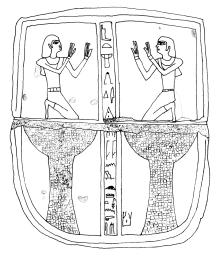


Fig. 51 Foot end of Kamose's coffin, Cat. *r***T03C.** Note that the name of Kamose is partly written outside the vertical band. Drawing by G. Miniaci.

(...). È pure all'incirca in questo posto un po' verso l'alto della collina che fu scoperto dal signor Mariette il

³⁷² M.G. DARESSY, Les cercueils royaux de Gournah (1912), p. 64-8.

³⁷³ See Cat. *r***T02**C.

³⁷⁴ A. MARIETTE, Album du Musée de Boulaq (1872), pl. 29 with text.

³⁷⁵ E. DESJARDINS, *Découvertes de M. Mariette* (1860), p. 98-9.

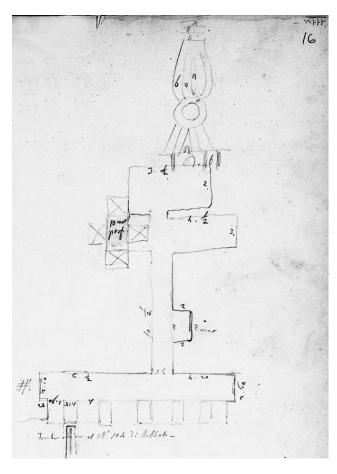


Fig. 52 Plan of the tomb of the "great royal herald" Antef, TT 155, from the *Album di Disegni* of Luigi Vassalli. In the lower part, Vassalli notes "tomba vicina al N. 104 di Rabbah", from AV f. 111v © Civica Biblioteca d'Arte di Milano - Fondo Luigi Vassalli, Album H 2.

magnifico sarcofago dorato della regina Ahhotep". 376 More precise information about the area of Dra Abu el-Naga north investigated by Mariette comes from some unpublished records of Vassalli. In his Album di Disegni Vassalli had noted in a drawing of some scenes of the "great royal herald" Antef's tomb (TT 155), "Tomba vicina al N. 104 D. A. Negga Reis Rabba/ i coni degli Entef furono trovati vicini- 16 Gennaio 1863" and, similarly, next to the plan of tomb TT 155 he appended the note "tomba vicina al N. 104 di Rabbah"377 (see Fig. 52). Therefore, Vassalli's tomb 104 is located close to TT 155. This tomb, as well as a series of tombs which Vassalli numbered from 100 upwards, is dated to the Second Intermediate Period. Thus, Vassalli had discovered a Second Intermediate Period cemetery on the Dra Abu el-Naga northern hill (see infra). Winlock also referred incidentally to the location: "Carter has heard a tradition in Kurnah that the site [the find-spot of Ahhotep's coffin] was near Tomb 155", 378 a piece of information confirming Vassalli's records.

The burial places of Kamose and Ahhotep, evidently situated close each other, could have belonged to a Second Intermediate Period cemetery lying at the mouth of the *wadi* Khawi el-Alamat, in the northernmost part of Dra Abu el-Naga north, and near to where the tomb of the Great Royal Herald Antef lies (see Fig. 53). A remarkable quantity of precious objects was found inside the coffin of Ahhotep.³⁷⁹

Vassalli's Excavations on Behalf of Mariette

Between December 1862 and January 1863, Luigi Vassalli³⁸⁰ worked on behalf of Mariette in the northern part of the Theban necropolis, as pointed out by Gabet, "dans la plaine

à Dra Abou el-Negga et plus loin". ³⁸¹ The choice of Dra Abu el-Naga north is also confirmed in a letter sent by Vassalli to Mariette, where the exact spot searched by the Italian is explicitly stated: "Gurnah I^{ére} Janvier 1863. Je ne veux pas commencer la nouvelle année sans vous écrire deux mots (...). J'ai abandonné le projet d'aller dans la vallée de l'ouest, où j'ai vu la presque impossibilité de ne rien trouver, tandis que les fouilles de Drah abou Neggah me promettent mieux; j'ai mis moitié des hommes dans l'emplacement que nous avons visité ensemble et le reste sur la lisière de la montagne de la reine Ahhotep et sur les environs du sarcophage de S.A. le prince Napoléon [Kamose]. Les fouilles sans avoir donné jusqu'au présent aucun grand résultat, promettent assez bien s'elles seront accompagnées d'un peu de chance. En attendant sur cet emplacement j'ai trouvé deux caisses de momie de l'époque en apparence de la XIème dynastie [read 17th dynasty]³⁸² (mais très

³⁷⁶ L. VASSALLI, I monumenti istorici egizi (1867), p. 128.

³⁷⁷ See AV f. 112v and AV f. 111v, the former has been published in G. MINIACI, *The archaeological exploration of Dra Abu el-Naga* (2009), p. 43, fig. 20.

³⁷⁸ H.E. WINLOCK, *The tombs of the kings of the seventeenth dynasty* (1924), p. 252, n. 2.

³⁷⁹ F.W. von BISSING, Ein thebanischer Grabfund (1892).

Luigi Vassalli was born in Milan in 1812. He worked as a painter for the local government in Egypt, and at the same time earned money selling antiquities and acting as a guide for rich Europeans, see W.R. DAWSON, E.P. UPHILL revised by M.L. BIERBRIER, *Who was who* (1995), p. 434-5 and R. La GUARDIA, *Luigi Vassalli* (1994), p. 11-44.

³⁸¹ G. MASPERO, *Documents relatifs aux fouilles de Mariette* (1892), p. 215, letter of Gabet to Mariette.

³⁸² In Mariette's time there was still confusion between the 11th and the 17th dynasty due to the occurrence of the name Antef; indeed, the royal *rishi* coffins of the Antef kings coming from the Dra Abu el-Naga hills were commonly ascribed to the 11th dynasty, see H.E. WINLOCK, *The tombs of the kings of the seventeenth dynasty* (1924), p. 217, n. 2. See also *infra* n. 506.



Fig. 53 Detail of the map of Dra Abu el-Naga and photo of the northernmost sector of Dra Abu el-Naga. On the map and in the photo the position of TT 155 is indicated. Drawing and photo by G. Miniaci.

endommagées)". ³⁸³ Thus, Vassalli decided to set up his works near to the area already investigated by Mariette where the coffins of Kamose and Ahhotep were found.

In this area Vassalli discovered several burials belonging to the Second Intermediate Period. Unfortunately, they are not recorded in a digging diary but details of some of them are scattered in his drawing album.³⁸⁴ The notes of Vassalli often refer to a *Catalogue of Gournah*, in which the objects found on behalf of Mariette would have been carefully recorded.³⁸⁵ Vassalli was always precise in assigning a date, a provenance and a relative number to each object he copied in his drawing album. Unfortunately, the location and existence of this *Catalogue of Gurnah* are unknown at the present.³⁸⁶

Near TT 155, the tomb of the "great royal herald" Antef, Vassalli discovered a multiple burial, labelled by him as "T 104" or "N 104 of Rais Rabba" (see Fig. 52), containing amongst other items, two late Middle Kingdom rectangular coffins, one belonging to the "grain-measurer" Sehetepibre and the other bearing an inscription ending "Mishup" (perhaps part of a formula with the words im, \$\xi\$, wp?). The presence of two rishi coffins, which were not included in the manuscript, can be inferred only from the following brief notes of Vassalli accompanying the rectangular coffins, "scheletro inviluppato in lenzuolo/panieri e piccoli vasi per il Khol/colla cassa Rishi" and "N. 22 du catalogue Maseh 11. din./Drah Abou Negah avec sar Richy N. 104/avec baton". The description of Vassalli suggests that the two rishi coffins were found inside the two rectangular coffins. While he does not give any drawing of them, it is highly probable that he confused a much decayed rishi mask with a rishi coffin, or he misinterpreted/confused his notes. However, in the same tomb Vassalli found also two white anthropoid coffins, whose presence dates the last use of this tomb to the early 18th dynasty. The description of Vassalli suggests that the two resence dates the last use of this tomb to the early 18th dynasty.

NAfr. 20179, f. 278, letter of Vassalli to Mariette, Gurnah 1st January 1863. Perhaps the two "*caisses*" are those reproduced in his album of drawings, found on 23rd and 27th of December 1862 (see *infra* p. 60).

³⁸⁴ I am deeply indebted to Dr. Rina La Guardia for permission to study and publish here some drawings from the *Album di Disegni* of Vassalli kept in the Civica Biblioteca d'Arte, Castello Sforzesco in Milan.

³⁸⁵ The *Catalogue of Gurnah* could refer to the shipping list of packing-crates boxed up at Gurna (?) more than to a digging diary.

³⁸⁶ F. TIRADRITTI, L'album di disegni di Luigi Vassalli (1994), p. 50.

³⁸⁷ For this title see A.W. WARD, *Index* (1982), p. 129, no. 1099, reading this title *hsbw*; note that H.G. FISCHER, *Egyptian Titles of the Middle Kingdom* (1985), reads the title *hsw*.

³⁸⁸ AV f. 5r and f. 6r (Sehetepibre's coffin), see F. TIRADRITTI, *L'album di disegni di Luigi Vassalli* (1994), p. 63, 103-4, figs. 1-2.

³⁸⁹ AV f. 7r and f. 8r (rectangular coffin with the inscription ending "Mishup"), see F. TIRADRITTI, *L'album di disegni di Luigi Vassalli* (1994), p. 63, 105, fig. 3.

³⁹⁰ I would like to stress that Vassalli mentions the *rishi* coffins, but he does not give any drawing of them. Could it be that the *rishi* coffins were lying beside the rectangular coffins? The only example positively attested of a *rishi* coffin lying inside a rectangular coffin comes from the Metropolitan Museum excavations (see Cat. *r*T19MMA) and belongs to a later phase, see *infra* p. 99. *Cf.* also the painted scenes from the tomb of Tetiky, see *infra* p. 83, Fig. 129, and Cat. *r*T08CarCa.

³⁹¹ AV f. 12r (the coffins belong to Uadjhat and Ibes), see F. TIRADRITTI, *L'album di disegni di Luigi Vassalli* (1994), p. 64 108 fig 6

³⁹² See also F. TIRADRITTI, Luigi Vassalli and the archaeological season at western Thebes (2010), p. 343-54.

On the 21st December 1862, Vassalli discovered the burial of the "royal acquaintance with (right of) access" rh nswt 'k Hornakht not far from the area where Ahhotep's coffin had lain: "Non molto distante e precisamente

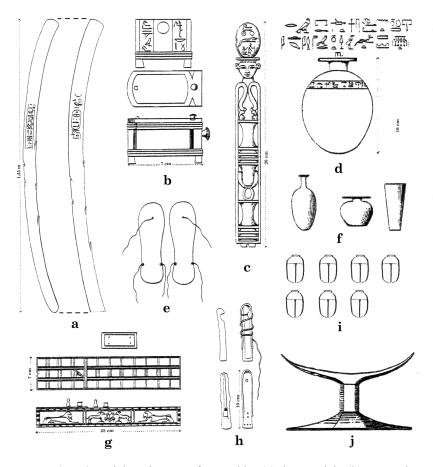


Fig. 54 Burial equipment of Hornakht; (a) throw-stick; (b) cartouche-shaped box; (c) cosmetic spoon; (d) Old Kingdom vase; (e) pair of sandals; (f) three alabaster vases; (g) *senet* gaming board; (h) razor and pair of tweezers; (i) seven scarabs; (j) headrest, from A.

MARIETTE, *Monuments divers* (1892), pl. 51.

ai piedi della collina io ritrovai pure un bel sarcofago, che conteneva la mummia di un principe per nome Tuau".393 Initially, Vassalli misread the real owner of the burial and assigned it to the s3 nswt "king's son" Tjuiu whose name was inscribed on a throw-stick³⁹⁵ laying beside the coffin. However, later he referred to him as Aqhor, reading the last element of his titles 'k as part of the name and missing the reading of its last part nht.³⁹⁶ The throw-stick, however, bears the cartouche of king Seqenenre Djehuty-aa giving a terminus post-quem for the burial of Hornakht. The rishi coffin of Hornakht, numbered 67 by Vassalli from his own catalogue, is not stored in the Cairo Museum;³⁹⁷ perhaps it never reached the museum since its inventory number is absent from the Journal d'Entrée records, but it has been simply quoted under the throw-stick inventory number, JE 21461.398 Apart from the throw-stick, the burial equipment of Hornakht includes a somewhat curious set of objects:399 a cartouche shaped box inscribed with the name of the "mayor" μ3ty-^c Minemhat, a cosmetic spoon inscribed with the name of the "mayor of Hierakonpolis" h3ty-c n Nhn Sobeknakht, a vase inscribed for an Old Kingdom (?) official named Idi, a senet gaming board, a razor and a pair of tweezers, a pair of sandals, three alabaster vases, an uninscribed wooden headrest, and seven scarabs⁴⁰⁰ (see Fig. 54). The unusual assemblage of objects belonging to different officials inside Hornakht's tomb can considered either as a series of heirlooms, or gifts that Hornakht received for his key role

in the Theban government's communications with the rest of Upper Egypt. 401 Either explanation fits the picture

³⁹³ L. VASSALLI, *I monumenti istorici egizi* (1867), p. 131. The reference is to the tomb of Hornakht in whose coffin the throw-stick of prince Tuau (read Tjuiu) was found.

³⁹⁴ On this title see during the Second Intermediate Period, see B. SCHMITZ, *Untersuchungen zum Titel s3-njswt* (1976) and G. MINIACI, *Il potere nella 17a dinastia* (2010), p. 99-131.

³⁹⁵ JE 21461, now on display in the Luxor Museum, Egypt.

³⁹⁶ Cf. P. VERNUS, Le surnom au Moyen Empire (1986), p. 40, n. 173.

³⁹⁷ See Cat. **rT01VA**.

³⁹⁸ See discussion and further reference *infra* n. 415.

³⁹⁹ The burial equipment is accurately described in A. MARIETTE, *Monuments divers* (1892), p. 16-7, pl. 51.

⁴⁰⁰ Inventory numbers from the Egyptian Museum, Cairo: throw-stick JE 21461; cartouche shaped box JE 21472/CG 44737; cosmetic spoon JE 21466/CG 45005; Old Kingdom vase JE 21464/CG 14735; *senet* gaming board JE 21462/CG 68005; razor and tweezers JE 21468; sandals JE 21467; only one of the small alabaster vase for kohl has been identified: JE 21463; another one would be made of pottery, see JE 21465; wooden headrest JE 21469. Only five scarabs are recorded in *JE* and perhaps they do not belong either to Hornakht burial equipment, see *infra* p. 59 and n. 406. The whole funerary equipment has been recently re-assessed by Francesco Tiradritti in *Luigi Vassalli and the archaeological season at western Thebes* (2010), p. 343-54.

⁴⁰¹ F. TIRADRITTI, Luigi Vassalli and the archaeological season at western Thebes (2010), p. 340.

of recycled or circulating earlier material during the Second Intermediate Period. In fact, the alabaster vase of the official Idi has no direct parallel during the Second Intermediate Period, its shape points to the Old Kingdom and some paleographic remarks in the inscription make clear that it cannot postdate the reign of Amenemhat I.⁴⁰² On the other hand, no one of the items inscribed for the other officials bears the label $m3^c$ hrw after the name of its owner, which might suggest that they were gifts given to Hornakht, a feature that occurs in other late Middle Kingdom burials.403 However, the Cairo Museum Journal d'Entrée, copied after 1881 by Émile Brugsch from Mariette's original inventory of the Boulaq Museum, together with the notes collected by Vassalli in his Album di Disegni may shed new light on Hornakht's

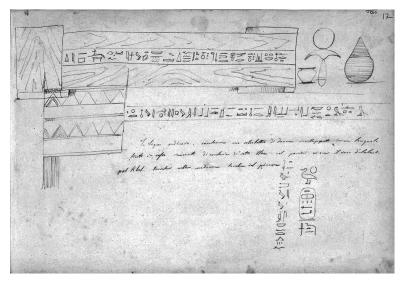


Fig. 55 Rectangular coffin belonging to Sobeknakht from the tomb of Hornakht, Vassalli AV f. 110v © Civica Biblioteca d'Arte di Milano - Fondo Luigi Vassalli, Album H 2.

burial. First of all, also found with the *rishi* coffin of Hornakht was a rectangular coffin belonging to a person called Sobeknakht;⁴⁰⁴ inside which was the mummy of a woman [*sic* in Vassalli] wrapped in a rich fringed mantle of red cloth sewn with blue beads, a mirror and a basket containing an alabaster vase for kohl⁴⁰⁵ (see Fig. 55). The *JE* entries also refer to another burial from Hornakht's tomb which contained another rectangular coffin: "*Dans ce même tombeau une autre caisse carrée ordinaire on y a trouvé*". Strangely, the *JE* assigns to it the cartouche shaped box inscribed with the name of Minemhat and five scarabs; perhaps those which Vassalli/Mariette had attributed to Hornakht, since they are absent from his *JE* records. Moreover, from the rectangular coffin come also a basket containing a wooden comb, two small porphyry vases, two small alabaster pots, and a kohl vase. 406

In addition, following the *JE* description of entries another burial containing a *rishi* coffin⁴⁰⁷ seems to belong to the Hornakht tomb group, "*Une caisse de Momie Riche dans la caisse qui n'a pu être conservé on trouve* (JE 21478) *Trois objets en cette forme - Porcelaine bleu*, 3 cm [*cf.* Fig. 56.0]; (JE 21479) *Deux plateaux de balance - Bronze*, 6 cm; (JE 21480) *Deux poids - Albâtre*; (JE 21481) *Une tranchant de hache - Bronze*, 3 cm; (JE 21482) *Un vase à poudre d'antimoine - Albâtre*, 5 cm; (JE 21483) *Un vase - Albâtre*, 7 cm". This coffin contained two bronze dishes for a balance, two weights, a blade of an axe, two alabaster vases, and an unusual egg-shaped amulet.

Due to this reassessment of the material, the tomb of Hornakht can be now re-considered as containing multiple burials, perhaps with each interment being buried in its own individual space (?), a feature notably attested from the end of the 17th dynasty. Viewed in this light, the astonishing assemblage of objects belonging to

⁴⁰² F. TIRADRITTI, *Luigi Vassalli and the archaeological season at western Thebes* (2010), p. 339-40. Old Kingdom items, for reasons unknown, often seem to have been re-employed in burials of the Second Intermediate Period. *Cf.* the so-called "canopic equipment" found beside the Ahhotep burial considered to be of Old Kingdom date, see H.E. WINLOCK, *The tombs of the kings of the seventeenth dynasty* (1924), p. 255, n. 5. *Cf.* A.M. LYTHGOE, A. LANSING, N. de Garis DAVIES, *The Egyptian Expedition 1915-16* (1917), p. 23, fig. 24.

See for instance the toilet box belonging to the "cupbearer" Kemeni found in the tomb of Renseneb, see *supra* p. 10. H. RANKE, *Die ägyptischen Personennamen* (1935), vol. II, p. 304, n. 15.

⁴⁰⁵ AV f. 110v "Annotazioni: "In legno ordinario, conteneva uno scheletro di una donna inviluppato in un lenzuolo/ tinto in rosso ricamato di conteria di vetro bleu - nel paniere vi era il vaso d'alabastro/ per il Khol. Trovata nella medesima tomba del principe [read Tjuiu whose throw-stick was found in the Hornakht burial equipment]". See F. TIRADRITTI, L'album di disegni di Luigi Vassalli (1994), p. 51-2, 87-8; G. MINIACI, S. QUIRKE, Mariette at Dra Abu el-Naga and the tomb of Neferhotep (2008), p. 18-9, fig. 2.

Inventory numbers: two alabaster pots JE 21470; two porphyry vases JE 21471; the cartouche shaped box JE 21472, five scarabs JE 21473, 21474 (three), 21475; kohl vase JE 21476; the basket with comb JE 21477.
 See Cat. *r*T04va.

different officials is not surprising because the same tomb hosted more than one burial, and this aspect might not only have caused some confusion in assigning the material and account for discrepancies between the Vassalli/Mariette records and the *JE* entries. However, Vassalli and Mariette are scrupulous and accurate in assigning specific objects, also inscribed for different officials, to the funerary equipment of Hornakht and differentiate objects from different burials.

In the end, however, the funerary equipment of Hornakht, as recorded by Vassalli, is consistent of a late Second Intermediate Period burial.

Vassalli, in his *Album di Disegni* provides reproductions of two other *rishi* coffins found at Dra Abu el-Naga on the 23rd and 27th of December 1862. The first of them, labelled by Vassalli with the number N 71, unfortunately lacks the owner's name with the inscription in the column ending with the (*n*) *k3 Wsir* formula followed by a blank space to be filled later with the name of the deceased. According to Vassalli's notes, the coffin was not associated with any particular burial equipment, but his accurately reproduced details of the decoration records the presence of legless birds in the hieroglyphic inscription.

The other *rishi* coffin seems, instead, to preserve the name of the deceased which could be probably read Rn-[s]-snb[w] or Rn-f-snb(w), 410 even if the reproduction of the hieroglyphic inscription is in this case much less accurate and perhaps contains some misinterpretations. 411 The features of this coffin are mostly unparalleled, bearing the \underline{dd} \underline{mdw} in \underline{Wsir} formula instead of the regular \underline{htp} \underline{di} \underline{nswt} formula. Besides the coffin, Vassalli included the drawing of a harp also from this burial. 412

In the *Journal d'Entrée* entries for February 1863, a series of burials containing *rishi* coffins are recorded. They come from the excavations of Mariette at Thebes and their find-spot is generally stated as being "Dra Abu el-Naga". The date of their record and the presence of Hornakht's funerary equipment between them strongly suggest that they were brought to light by Vassalli during his investigations in the area of Dra Abu el-Naga north.

Unfortunately, all the *rishi* coffins listed in the *Journal d'Entrée* for 1863 are not stored in the Cairo Museum and they probably never reached the museum, since they do not have their own inventory number, but are catalogued under the entry numbers of the items they contained. A note in the *Journal d'Entrée* might reveal that the real reason for the absence of *rishi* coffins in the Museum from the Mariette and Vassalli excavations was that most of them were found completely decayed because of the effects of humidity and floods:⁴¹³ "22 *cercueils de momie entierement pourris par l'humidité*".⁴¹⁴ Although Mariette's *rishi* coffins are absent from the museum and it is now impossible to arrange a typological distinction for them, the *Journal d'Entrée* does provide an accurate digging diary, which sheds new light on the funerary culture associated with the use of *rishi* coffins.⁴¹⁵

⁴⁰⁸ See Cat. *r***T02VA**.

⁴⁰⁹ AV f. 37r, "Drah Abou Negah. 23 dicembre 1862 a l'apertura della cassa non si rinveniva che il morto senza alcun oggetto". Note that beside the *rishi* coffin in the album page is reproduced an anonymous rectangular coffin, T 100.6 of the Second Intermediate Period. Is it perhaps to be connected with the *rishi* coffin? Were they in the same tomb or have they been simply reproduced together on the same page?

⁴¹⁰ See H. RANKE, *Personennamen* (1935), vol. II, p. 223, n. 17 and P. VERNUS, *Le surnom au Moyen Empire* (1986), p. 36

⁴¹¹ See Cat. *r***T03VA**.

⁴¹² AV f. 39r, "27 Dicembre 1862 Drah Abou Negah. cassa di mummia contenente/ un inviluppo di tela e canne nelle quali vi era un/ teschio rotto, una mano intiera e grande con l'omero e/l'avanti braccio - il tutto legato alla canna e fatto a guisa/ di mummia intera - nella medesima tomba si trovò vicino alla detta cassa un istrumento forse/ di musica del qui sopra disegno e forma". See F. TIRADRITTI, L'album di disegni di Luigi Vassalli (1994), p. 70-1. The fake mummified "body", assembled from a skull, forearm, reeds, and cloth arranged in the shape of a mummy, might be a modern fabrication designed to deceive the excavation's director or, perhaps, represents an ancient fabrication to compensate for a partly-destroyed body.

⁴¹³ From ancient times, the Theban necropolis suffered the devastating effects of occasional flash-floods arising from the rare but vigorous and sudden rain storms which strike the desert. A high number of tombs in Dra Abu el-Naga are affected by floods and damage due to the resultant humidity, see P. DEL VESCO, *Archaeological context* (2009), p. 138-42.

⁴¹⁴ See text in the *Journal d'Entrées* under the record JE 21428.

⁴¹⁵ In the *Journal d'Entrées* for the year 1863 about 9 *rishi* coffins (+ 1 = Hornakht, see *supra* p. 58) are recorded. Not one coffin has its own inventory number, but its presence in the original context is simply recorded in a note appended to the first *JE* number of the objects taken from within each coffin. To avoid any kind of misinterpretation and in order to create a scale of reference for these *rishi* coffins, each coffin will be referred in the text according to the first object's inventory number under which they are quoted in the *JE*; following this system, there would be a reduplication of *JE* records, therefore *rishi* coffin will be labelled "*under JE*" followed by the *JE* number.

"Cercueil de momie Richi on v a trouvé" 416

JE 21378 "Un Scarabée - Schiste, 1 cm", a scarab with a red crown "tête bêche" motif⁴¹⁷ (see Fig. 56.a);

JE 21379 "Vase a poudre d'antimoine - Porphyre noir", a small toilet vase.

"Cercueil de momie Richi on y a trouvé" 418

JE 21385 "Un Scarabée avec le nom proper Kha-ka-ra - Schiste, 1,5 cm", a steatite scarab with the name of the Second Intermediate Period king Khakare;⁴¹⁹

JE 21386 "Un Scarabée sur le plat deux lions dos à dos - Schiste, 2 cm", a scarab with two lions depicted back to back on the base;

JE 21387 "Un Scarabée sans légende monté en argent - Jaspe noir, 1 cm", a scarab framed in gold without inscription.

"Cercueil de momie Richi on y a trouvé" 420

JE 21388 "Une paire de pantoufles la semelle en cuir repoussé on y voit représenté animal fantastique avec des ailes quatre pattes et une tête de serpent - Cuir", a pair of leather sandals, bearing the representation of an apotropaic figure, i.e. an animal with wings, four legs and a snake-shaped head;

JE 21389 "Un panier en fibres de papyrus tressé, 8 cm", a basket woven with papyrus;

JE 21390 "Un vase - Alabâtre, 4 cm", a small alabaster vase;

JE 21391 "Quatre petits ressorts en forme de spiral - Or, 1,5 cm", four small coils;⁴²¹

JE 21392 "Une bague avec olives enjambé de verre bleue et rouge - Argent, 1,5 cm", a silver ring;

JE 21393 "Une bague avec trois olives en turquoise - Or, 1,5 cm", a golden ring;

JE 21394 "Amulette en forme de double cartouche d'une coté Ra-Kha-Ka et Ra-Kha-Kheper de l'autre Ahmes et un illisible - Schiste, 1,5 cm", an amulet in steatite in the shape of a double cartouche written on one side with the royal names Khakare and Khakheperre and on the other side with the name of Ahmes and another unreadable⁴²² (see Fig. 135);

JE 21395 "Amulette en forme de double cartouche les deux faces illisibles - Schiste, 1 cm", a similar amulet with unreadable inscriptions;

JE 21396 "Amulette en forme de double cartouche sur les deux faces combinaison de la croix ansée et du Cheorbe [?] - Calcaire, 1 cm", a sandstone cartouche-shape amulet decorated on both sides;

⁴¹⁶ See Cat. *r***T05va**.

⁴¹⁷ See D. BEN-TOR, *Scarabs, Chronology, and Interconnections* (2007), p. 80-1, *cf.* scarab design at pl. 34, no. 27. This design, rarely attested during the late Middle Kingdom, is very frequent in the Second Intermediate Period/Egyptian production.

⁴¹⁸ See Cat. *r***T06va**.

⁴¹⁹ See *infra* p. 117-8. For a possible identification of the king see K.S.B. RYHOLT, *The Political Situation in Egypt* (1997), p. 380, *Catalogue of Attestations* File 14/30.

⁴²⁰ See Cat. **rT07va**.

The descriptions of the shape of the coils might recall the double loop earrings borne by a late Middle Kingdom ivory statuette of a young naked girl from Hu, see J. BOURRIAU, *Pharaohs and Mortals* (1988), p. 124, cat. no. 117.

⁴²² The type of amulet described here corresponds to a double-side plaque with double-cartouches inscribed both sides. These amulets are illustrated by Vassalli in one page of his Album di Disegni, AV f. 43r, recently published by Francesco Tiradritti in Luigi Vassalli and the archaeological season at western Thebes (2010), pl. 114. Vassalli annotated the inscription of the plaques in the same page where the rectangular coffin no. T 100.2 is represented. This might give the misleading impression that the coffin and the amulets belonged to the same burial. However, Vassalli is very precise in describing the equipment found inside the rectangular coffin, "Cassa N. 2.100 Drah abou Negah. 8 gennaio 1863/schelletro di donna inviluppato in un lenzuolo, ai piedi un paniere contenente altri due panieri nel ultimo vi era un pettine 3 piccoli vasi d'alabastro per il khol/una spilla d'avorio in fondo di un paniere un collare con piccolo perle d'oro quattro orecchini due braccialetti alle mani di conteria due anelli con scarabei e due scarabei", see F. TIRADRITTI, L'album di disegni di Luigi Vassalli (1994), p. 72. The plaques are not listed in Vassalli's note; on the other side, many of the objects quoted in the description of Vassalli are absent from the JE list which includes the double-cartouche plaques. The leading impression is that the plaques could have been simply drawn in the same page of the rectangular coffin and, indeed, they belong to the rishi burial equipment as stated by JE. The Journal d'Entrée, indeed, is very precise in distinguish between the "caisse riche" and the "caisse carré", even when different objects came from the same tomb but from different coffins. In this respect, the JE list is also precise in assigning to Hornakht a rishi coffin as it was, "une caisse Riche à tète dorée et légendes en relief également dorées", although the material would have came to Boulaq packed without the coffin itself.

JE 21397 "Scarabée monté en argent - Faïence, 2 cm", a scarab in faience with an unusual motif of single line loops combined with nfr and ^cnh symbols (see Fig. 56.b);

JE 21398 "Scarabée monté en argent le dos recouvert d'une feuille d'or - Faïence, 2 cm", a scarab in faience with wd3t-eyes over hieroglyphic signs displayed symmetrically⁴²³ (see Fig. 56.c);

JE 21399 "Scarabée monté en or le dos et le plat sont recouverts d'une feuille d'or - Faïence, 1,5 cm", a faience scarab framed in gold representing the *hpr* sign flanked by two opposed cobras⁴²⁴ (see Fig. 56.d);

JE 21400 "Scarabée monté en or - Faïence, 1 cm", a faience scarab framed in gold with what seems to be the 'nr' motif⁴²⁵ (see Fig. 56.e);

JE 21401 "Scarabée monté en or - Faïence, 1,5 cm", a faience scarab framed in gold with a cross pattern motif⁴²⁶ (see Fig. 56.f);

JE 21402 "Scarabée monté en or - Pale de verre bleu, 1,5 cm", a faience scarab framed in gold with the *Imn-r*^c name (see Fig. 56.g);

JE 21403 "Scarabée - Faïence, 1,5 cm", a faience scarab with the motif of the cobra confronted and the pair of Horus eyes⁴²⁷ (see Fig. 56.h);

JE 21404 "Amulette - Faïence, 1,5 cm" a faience amulet with a floral decoration (see Fig. 56.i);

JE 21405 "Scarabée monté en argent - Faïence, 1 cm", a faience silver scarab framed with silver showing possibly an 'nr' motif (see Fig. 56.j);

JE 21406 "Bouche d'oreille epaissé - Argent, 1,5 cm" a faience and silver hair ring (Fig. 56.1);

JE 21407 "Bouche d'oreille - Or, 2 cm", a golden earring (see Fig. 56.m);

JE 21408 "Une collier forme de perles enfilées et réunies par des ornements en cette forme - Argent", a silver collar (see Fig. 56.n);

JE 21408 "Un Scarabée sans légende - Serpentine, 2 cm" a serpentine scarab without inscriptions.

"Une caisse riche ordinaire contenant" 428

JE 21417 "Un panier en jonc tressé - Jonc tressé, 12 cm", a basket containing:

JE 21418 "Un vase à poudre d'antimoine - Alabâtre", an alabaster vase;

JE 21419 "Miroir en bronze et sans manche - Bronze, 8 cm", a bronze mirror lying on the chest of the mummy.

"Caisse riche à l'ouverture on y a trouvé deux momies. [JE 21420] Aux pieds de l'une étaient placées deux pantoufles qui n'ont pu être conservées" 429

JE 21421 "Sans la tête un petit panier en jonc tressé - Jonc tressé, 8 cm", a small basket placed under the head of one of the mummies;

JE 21422 "Un petit vase à poudre d'antimoine - Alabâtre, 5 cm", a small alabaster vase paced inside the basket.

"Caisse riche très ordinaire sur la momie on y a trouvé" 430

JE 21426 "Un vase à poudre d'antimoine - Alabâtre, 5 cm", a small alabaster vase;

JE 21427 "Un poignard en deux fragments une légère fouille d'or qui recouvrait le manche existe encore - Bronze, 32 cm", a bronze dagger broken into two parts with the remains of gold-leaf belonging to the handle. Following the information appended later in the JE, a gaming-rod (JE 21026) would also belong to this burial.

⁴²³ See D. BEN-TOR, *Scarabs, Chronology, and Interconnections* (2007), p. 81, stressing the late Middle Kingdom derivation for the motif/Egyptian production.

⁴²⁴ Cf. D. BEN-TOR, Scarabs, Chronology, and Interconnections (2007), pl. 40, no. 10. Second Intermediate period/Egyptian production.

⁴²⁵ D. BEN-TOR, *Scarabs, Chronology, and Interconnections* (2007), p. 83-4. Second Intermediate Period/New Kingdom, rarely attested in the late Middle Kingdom in Egypt.

⁴²⁶ D. BEN-TOR, Scarabs, Chronology, and Interconnections (2007), p. 23-4, 88-9. Cananite production.

⁴²⁷ Cf. D. BEN-TOR, Scarabs, Chronology, and Interconnections (2007), pl. 34, no. 5. It is to be noted the sign of the k3 represented in the JE scarab without the horizontal line between the two arms, which is characteristic of the Second Intermediate Period.

⁴²⁸ See Cat. **rT08va**.

⁴²⁹ See Cat. *r***T09va**.

⁴³⁰ See Cat. *r***T10va**.

"Autre caisse riche à la main gauche une amulette de cette forme". 431

About 22 coffins have been found in the tomb recorded in *JE* under the number 21428. In the same tomb were a black rectangular coffin with yellow hieroglyphic inscription and another rectangular (?) coffin containing a faience sitting hippopotamus with its head turned. Amongst the other coffins, two belong to the *rishi* type. One had a mummy with an unusual faience egg-shaped amulet tied on to the left hand (JE 21441, see Fig 56.0).

"Autre caisse riche dans la main de la momie on a trouvé ce seul monument. [JE 21443] Une amulette même forme que le N. 21441". 432

This is the other *rishi* coffin coming from the above tomb. The only object (*JE* 21443) found in this burial was an unusual faience egg-shaped amulet of the same shape of the JE 21441.

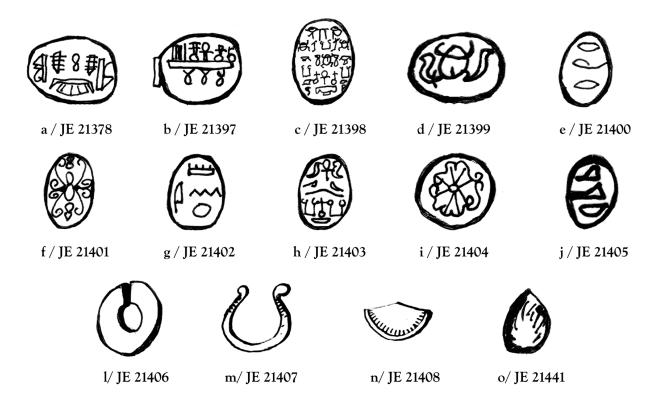


Fig. 56 Objects from the *rishi* coffins recorded in the *Journal d'Entrée*. Reproduced from the *JE* sketches. Drawing by E. Tiribilli.

The above list seems to be only a few of the *rishi* coffins found by Vassalli and Mariette during their excavations at Dra Abu el-Naga north. In fact, Winlock was informed by Maspero about the existence of water-colour drawings of *rishi* coffins made by Vassalli which, in 1912, were in the possession of a Mme Maraini living on the Riviera. Unfortunately, the present location of these drawings is unknown. Moreover, Maspero himself wrote, "Et de fait Vassalli, qui dirigeait les chantiers de Drah abou'l-Neggah, ne cessait de tirer de terre ces curieux cercueils rishi". 434

The Fifth Marquis of Northampton's Excavations

During the winter of 1898, in the north-eastern branch of Dra Abu el-Naga north, between the road that leads to the Valley of the Kings and the mouth of the *wadi* Khawi el-Alamat, the archaeological mission directed by Newberry and Spiegelberg and funded by the Fifth Marquis of Northampton selected an area of almost 16

⁴³¹ See Cat. *r***T11va**.

⁴³² See Cat. *r***T12va**.

⁴³³ H.E. WINLOCK, The tombs of the kings of the seventeenth dynasty (1924), p. 258, n. 6.

⁴³⁴ G. MASPERO, Mariette (1821 - 1881). Notice bibliographique (1904), vol. I, p. cxiii.



Fig. 57 Map of the Theban necropolis showing the general area and the main places investigated by the Marquis of Northampton archaeological mission, from The Marquis of Northampton, W. Spiegelberg, P. Newberry, *Report* (1908), pl. 2.

square meters, which they completely cleared down to the native rock⁴³⁵ (Fig. 57). Unfortunately, the results were not conspicuous; even though 26 pits and 40 "sarcophagus chambers" were examined, most had already been plundered. Only one burial containing two chambers at the end of a shaft with seven depositions inside appeared to be untouched. However, all the tombs seem to date from the middle to the end of the 18th dynasty.⁴³⁶

Gauthier's Excavations



Fig. 58 The northern rocky slope at Dra Abu el-Naga north, Davies Mss. 1.271 © reproduced here with permission of the Griffith Institute, University of Oxford, UK.

Approximately the same area was investigated by Henri Gauthier during the winter of 1906. He paid particular attention to the northern side of the rocky slope that overlooks the *wadi* Biban el-Muluk, where the richest and most beautiful tombs were found, all of which dated to the New Kingdom (see Fig. 58).

At the mouth of the Khawi el-Alamat *wadi*, and at the foot end of the mountain Gauthier found a late 17th/early 18th dynasty rock-chamber. The large tomb was originally pillared and roofed, but the ceiling was completely collapsed when found by Gauthier; although the chamber appeared to be *à ciel ouvert*, because of the absence of its original roof, its entrance was through a brick tunnel about ten meters long, thus confirming, despite the hasty reports, that this part of the tomb was the burial chamber. The northern side of the chamber was painted with a fresco showing scenes of dancers. ⁴³⁷ The painting style closely resembles that of the Isis and Nephthys figures on the foot

⁴³⁵ The Marquis of NORTHAMPTON, W. SPIEGELBERG, P. NEWBERRY, *Report* (1908), pl. 2 and PM I², 2, p. 607. See discussion in P. WHELAN, *Mere scraps of rough wood? 17th-18th dynasty stick shabtis* (2007), p. 4-10.

⁴³⁶ The Marquis of Northampton, W. Spiegelberg, P. Newberry, *Report* (1908), p. 10-2.

⁴³⁷ H. GAUTHIER, *Rapport* (1908), p. 162-3, pls. 7-10.

of 17th dynasty *rishi* coffins suggesting that it is probably of the same age.⁴³⁸ Unfortunately, the tomb was already heavily plundered and neither Gauthier nor Petrie, who re-cleared the same structure two years later, recorded any trace of the original equipment, except perhaps for a kohl vase of black serpentine, a fragment of a kneeling figure and a bowl.⁴³⁹

Several other burials Gauthier investigated in the plain extending east of Dra Abu el-Naga's northern hill produced very little because they had already been examined by Mariette some years before and because all the material had rotted due to water seepage. 440

Petrie's Excavations

From December 1908 to February 1909 Petrie turned his attention to the Theban necropolis. During his investigations Petrie focused on a sector, so far unknown at that time, in the northernmost area of the Theban necropolis, north of the entrance to the *wadi* Biban el-Muluk, which had not previously been examined. The site included two small valleys set back north of the road to the Kings Valley. In one of these, in a sector named el-Khor, Petrie found an intact burial of the 17th dynasty. Unfortunately, Petrie used a rather vague map to indicate the find-spot, marking its location with the letter B.⁴⁴¹ In an open shallow trench in the rock without any visible superstructure and covered by a group of boulders Petrie found a *rishi* coffin of unexpected richness and quality⁴⁴² (see Fig. 59). The kind of interment points to a recurrent attribute of Second Intermediate Period

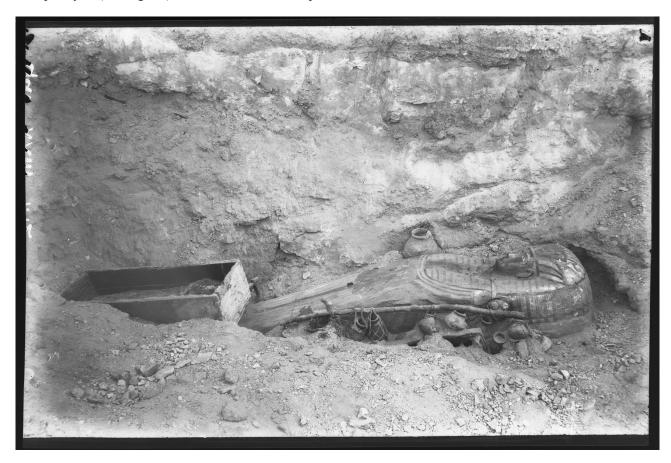


Fig. 59 Intact burial of the 17th dynasty found by Petrie at Dra Abu el-Naga. The image shows the *rishi* coffin and funerary equipment as found by Petrie at the time of the discovery © Petrie Museum of Egyptian Archaeology, University College London PMAN2851.

⁴³⁸ W.M.F. PETRIE, *Qurneh* (1909), p. 10-1.

⁴³⁹ W.M.F. PETRIE, *Qurneh* (1909), p. 10-1, pls. 8-15, 31.

⁴⁴⁰ H. GAUTHIER, *Rapport* (1908), p. 121-2.

⁴⁴¹ W.M.F. PETRIE, *Qurneh* (1909), p. 6, pl. 4.

⁴⁴² W.M.F. PETRIE, *Qurneh* (1909), p. 6-10, pls. 22-9.

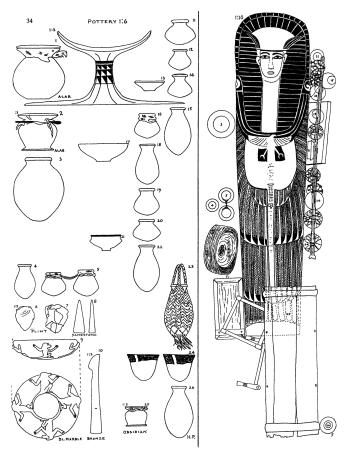


Fig. 60 Drawing of the *rishi* coffin Cat. *r***T01ED** and its equipment as found by Petrie; on the left part of the burial equipment, from W.M.F. PETRIE, *Qurneh* (1909), pl. 22.

royal burials, like the coffins of Ahhotep and Kamose found half a century before by Mariette at Dra Abu el-Naga which were placed just below the surface of the sand without any recognizable funerary structure. 443

The rishi coffin⁴⁴⁴ contained the body of a woman⁴⁴⁵ and was surrounded by a pottery assemblage including bowls containing food offerings of bread and dried fruit (grapes, dates, and dum palm nuts, some of them show signs of bites). A series of flasks, jars and Kerma beakers were suspended from a stick used to carry them to the grave. The mummy was supplied with jewellery and amulets, including earrings, a necklace consisting of a string of 205 small gold ring beads, six bracelets, a girdle of pocket beads and barrel beads of electrum, a šbtjw-collar, 446 two kohl pots, an electrum button, a green-glazed steatite scarab with a *nfr*-sign on the base. Amongst other items there are also an inlaid uninscribed headrest in dark brown wood447 and a ceremonial sash, consisting of a bunch of 16 strings of barrel-shaped blue faience beads.

The burial contained a range of objects from "daily life" 448, including a square-framed chair in wood with a woven linen string mesh seat and legs carved in imitation of those of a bovine, two stools in cedar wood, baskets and boxes, including a wooden box with a sliding lid containing 14 linen wrappings, an oval basket holding a fine horn container, an anhydrite bowl decorated with monkeys, 449 a flat knife or razor in bronze, a sharpening stone, two flints, and a ball of thread. A small rectangular whitewashed box containing the burial of an infant was lying over the foot of the *rishi* coffin450 (see Fig. 60).

⁴⁴³ Cf. supra p. 54-5.

See cat. **rT01ED**. The entire funerary equipment belonging to the *rishi* coffin was brought to Edinburgh and has been on display there ever since in the National Museums Scotland. I am deeply indebted to Bill Manley for help with the Edinburgh material.

Examination of the mummy indicates that the woman was in her late teens or early twentieth, see K. EREMIN, E. GORING, B. MANLEY, C. CARTWRIGHT, A 17th Dynasty Egyptian queen in Edinburgh? (2000), p. 35. The richness of the burial, the fine workmanship of the coffin and the location of the interment, in an isolated tomb (?), could support the hypothesis that the woman was a queen of the Second Intermediate Period/early 18th dynasty, see C.H. ROEHRIG, *The burial of a royal woman and child of the late Seventeenth Dynasty* (2005), p. 16.

Janine Bourriau interpreted the necklace as a *§btjw*-collar and suggested that it was a gift from a Theban ruler to a representative of the ruler of Kush, see J. BOURRIAU, *Nubians in Egypt* (1981), p. 37.

⁴⁴⁷ C.H. ROEHRIG, *The burial of a royal woman and child of the late Seventeenth Dynasty* (2005), p. 22. Another headrest of the same type was found by Carter and Carnarvon in the tomb 37/37 as part of the burial equipment of an undecorated rectangular coffin with raised ends and vaulted lid, coffin no. 37/37.64, see Earl of Carnarvon, H. Carter, *Five Years' Explorations at Thebes* (1912), p. 82, no. 64, pl. LXIX.1. The headrest is now in the MMA collection, MMA 14.10.9.

⁴⁴⁸ W. Grajetzki, *Burial customs* (2003), p. 63.

⁴⁴⁹ C.H. ROEHRIG, The burial of a royal woman and child of the late Seventeenth Dynasty (2005), p. 20. no. 4.

⁴⁵⁰ Museum inventory numbers: *rishi* coffin A.1909.527.1-1A; stick A.1909.527.21; earrings A.1909.527.18; necklace A.1909.527.11; six bracelets, four of gold A.1909.527.16-16A-C and two of ivory A.1909.527.13-13A; girdle A.1909.527.17; *8btjw*-collar A.1909.527.19; two kohl pots, one in alabaster A.1909.527.6 and another in obsidian A.1909.527.7; electrum button A.1909.527.20; steatite scarab A.1909.527.15; headrest A.1909.527.3; sash A.1909.527.9; chair A.1909.527.22; two stools A.1909.527.29-29A; box A.1909.527.30-30A; linen wrappings A.1909.527.14-14A; oval basket A.1909.527.31; horn container A.1909.527.32; anhydrite bowl A.1909.527.33; razor A.1909.527.34; sharpening stone A.1909.527.35; flints A.1909.527.37B-C; ball of thread A.1909.527.36; infant's coffin A.1909.527.10-10A.

Carter and his Search for the Tomb of Amenhotep I

In 1914 Carter discovered what he thought to be the tomb of Amenhotep I; a large tomb carefully hidden, which he labelled "AN B" (see Fig. 61), laying at the head of a small lateral valley up on the northernmost slope of Dra Abu el-Naga north, overlooking the *wadi* that extends to the Valley of the Kings⁴⁵¹ (see Fig. 72). The

hidden tomb was revealed to him in the spring of 1912 by a local workman named Gad Hassan, who offered to sell him fragments of vessels inscribed with the name of Amenhotep I and Ahmes Nefertari. 452 During the clearance of the tomb, Carter discovered more than 70 vase fragments, some of them bearing the cartouches of the kings Apophis, Ahmose and Amenhotep strengthening his belief that he had discovered the burial place of Amenhotep I and Ahmes Nefertari. Carter's opinion was generally accepted until Maspero brought to light the coffin of Amenhotep I from the cache TT 320 at Deir el-Bahri. 453 The discovery of Amenhotep I's mummy renewed interest in searching for his original tomb. Despite the strength of his belief. Carter had failed to find satisfactory proof that AN-B

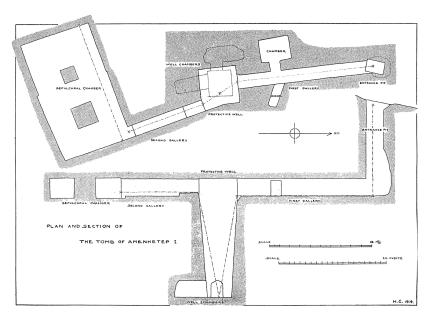


Fig. 61 Plan and section of tomb AN-B believed by Carter to be the tomb of Amenhotep I, from H. CARTER, *Report on the Tomb of Zeser-ka-Ra Amenhetep I* (1916), pl. 20.

was the real tomb of Amenhotep I.⁴⁵⁴ His main goal was to match the archaeological evidence with the description of the tomb made by the inspectors of the Abbott papyrus.

"(2)The eternal horizon of King Djeserka[re], son of Re, Amenhotep, which measures 120 cubits (3)in depth from its 'h'y called p3 '-k3j, north of the house of Amenhotep of the Garden". 455

Measuring the tomb he had discovered, Carter calculated that the distance from the entrance to the burial chamber was about 63 metres which corresponded approximately to the 120 cubits of the papyrus Abbott. This evidence can only be sustained if one accepts the translation of the *hapax legomenon* word f_h with "stela", as proposed by Thomas Peet, and then that this stela is placed in front of the entrance of the tomb. Nevertheless, the papyrus Abbott already has a word for stela, $w\underline{d}^{458}$ frequently attested in the account. Nor does a possible meaning as "superstructure" seem acceptable, due to the early New Kingdom trend of locating

⁴⁵¹ H. CARTER, Report on the Tomb of Zeser-ka-Ra Amenhetep I (1916), p. 149, map at pl. 19.

⁴⁵² N.C. REEVES, J.H. TAYLOR, *Howard Carter before Tutankhamun* (1992), p. 121-2.

⁴⁵³ G. MASPERO, *Le momies royales* (1889), p. 615 f.

⁴⁵⁴ D. POLZ, The Location of the Tomb of Amenhotep I (1995), p. 8-21.

⁴⁵⁵ pAbbott, 2, 2-3, T.E. PEET, *The Great Tomb-Robberies* (1930), p. 37-8.

⁴⁵⁶ H. CARTER, Report on the Tomb of Zeser-ka-Ra Amenhetep I (1916), p. 150, pl. 20.

⁴⁵⁷ T.E. PEET, *The Great Tomb-Robberies* (1930), p. 43, n. 4.

⁴⁵⁸ Wb. I, 398, 15; pAbbott, 2, 8 and 2, 17.

royal tombs in hidden places. 459 Perhaps Nicolas Reeves's interpretation of the word h^c as a particular spelling of the word h^c , 460 "head, pile", is the most plausible solution at the moment, because it could represent a kind of marker employed by the priests to locate particular tombs. However, the number of stone cairns in the Theban necropolis is immense and at present it is not possible to confirm their function as markers. One of the letters sent to the general Piankh by the scribe Butehamun may shed new light on the meaning of the word h^c .

"(vs.6)As for this scribe who used to be here in charge of us, (vs.7)it being he who can give (advice?) since he is one who knows a hy, he is an experienced person, since his father had testified that, but he is with you. (vs.8)Now as soon as he submits the evidence before us also, while we shall spend (from) 10 to 20 days, while he (vs.9)he looks for a hy in one day, until he finds (one). Now see, you (vs.10)have written (a letter) saying: Uncover a tomb among the ancient tombs and preserve its seal until (vs.11)I return (...) (vs.12)but you should send the scribe of the necropolis Tjaroy (Tuthmosis) to (vs.13)have him come and find a hy for us. Lo, we get going and go astray not knowing where to put our feet". 461

The letter clearly refers to a search for an ancient tomb, since the explicit request is to "uncover a tomb among the ancient tombs and preserve its seal" till the scribe of the necropolis Butehamun returned. The meaning of the term hy, determined with the eye sign (GARDINER, sign-list D6), is still debated. Lesko II, 98 gives it the meaning "inspector" or "supervisor" on the basis of a Ramesside letter in the Anastasi papyrus, but the context seems to be ambiguous. ⁴⁶² In papyrus Bologna 1086 IV the word hy is preceded by the feminine definite article the hy, which excludes any possible interpretation of hy as an "inspector". It looks more likely that hy was a kind of visual testimony, a note or mark intended to be seen. ⁴⁶³ In fact, as testified by an ostracon from Deir el-Medina, during the inspections in the Theban necropolis, the priests often employed markers or topographical

⁴⁵⁹ Cf. "The site chosen was more than half a kilometer away from the part of the necropolis most popular in Eighteenth Dynasty, and the actual mouth of the entrance pit was fairly well screened from view", H.E. WINLOCK, The tomb of queen Meryet-Amun (1932), p. 4.

⁴⁶⁰ Wb. I, 220, 10-11, "Haufen". N.C. REEVES, Valley of the Kings. The decline of a royal necropolis (1990), p. 5.

⁴⁶¹ pBM 10375, *verso* 7-14, hieroglyphic text in J. ČERNÝ, *Late Ramesside Letters* (1939), p. 47-8; for the translation see E. WENTE, *Letters* (1990), p. 194-5, letter no. 315.

⁴⁶² pAnastasi V, 26, 4, A.H. GARDINER, Late-Egyptian Miscellanies (1937), p. 71.

⁴⁶³ W. Wolf, *Papyrus Bologna 1086* (1930), p. 92. See comments in S. GROLL, *Review of E. Wente* (1974), p. 171.



Fig. 62 Aerial view of the main northern hill at Dra Abu el-Naga. Photo by M. Betrò.

points of reference to locate a particular structure or to find their bearings, "(1)Account of the survey of all the things (2)<fou>nd in the ruined tomb opposite the burial place of Amennakhte". 464 I wonder if the semantic meaning of hy could be equivalent of that of the word he word he word 16.

However, the search for the tomb of Amenemhat I still remains open and today tomb KV 39,⁴⁶⁶ an atypical structure situated on a hill above the southern limits of the Valley of the Kings, and K93.11,⁴⁶⁷ a large rock-cut cliff-tomb near the south summit of Dra Abu el-Naga's main hill, have been proposed as alternative burial places for Amenhotep I.⁴⁶⁸

The main hill of Dra Abu el-Naga

The main northern hill corresponds to the squat and larger hill situated in the southern part of Dra Abu el-Naga north. The south-western region of the main hill is occupied by the Coptic monastery of Deir el-Bakhit and by a large double tomb, a feature that invariably appears on the maps made by 19th century explorers as an indisputable landmark, called Bab el-Maseekh⁴⁷⁰ (see Fig. 62).

⁴⁶⁴ L.M.J. ZONHOVEN, The Inspection of a Tomb (1979), p. 89-98.

⁴⁶⁵ See also G. MINIACI, Saccheggi nella necropoli tebana (2008), p. 53-71.

⁴⁶⁶ J. Rose, *Tomb KV 39* (2000), p. xxii; N.C. Reeves, R.H. Wilkinson, *The Complete Valley of the Kings* (1996), p. 89.

⁴⁶⁷ D. Polz, Der Beginn des Neuen Reiches (2007), p. 172 f.

⁴⁶⁸ See also the discussion in G.B. JOHNSON, *Where was Amenhotep I buried?* (2003), p. 54-70; E. GRAEFE, *Der Hügel (qAy) der Inhapi* (2005), p. 207-9; E. GRAEFE, *Nochmals zur Lage des Grabes Amenhoteps I.* (2007), p. 9.

⁴⁶⁹ A.H. GARDINER, A.E.P. WEIGALL, A topographical catalogue (1913), p. 13.

⁴⁷⁰ G. BURKARD, M. MACKENSEN, D. POLZ, *Die spätantike/koptische klosteranlage Deir el-Bachit* (2003), p. 44. Also noted in P.E. NEWBERRY, *Topographical notes* (1906), p. 84, no. 67.

The Excavations of Triantaphyllos and Yanni

Giovanni d'Athanasi, known also as Yanni, settled in Thebes in order to carry out excavations on behalf of the British consul Henry Salt from 1817 to 1827.⁴⁷¹ He was certainly also dealing on his own account in Thebes⁴⁷² and is well known for sales from his collection to the British Museum in 1836 and 1837 at Sotheby's.⁴⁷³

During d'Athanasi's 1827 excavations on the main hill of Dra Abu el-Naga, the dwellers of Gurna discovered the coffin and part of the burial equipment of the 17th dynasty king Nubkheperre Antef. Unfortunately, the statement given by Athanasi about the find-spot is not extremely detailed but, if reliable, it represents a valuable account about the king's funerary equipment: "during the researches made by the Arabs in the year 1827, at Gourna they discovered in the mountain, now called by the Arabs, Il-Drah-Abool-Naggia, a small and separate tomb, containing only one chamber, in the centre of which was placed a sarcophagus, hewn out the same rock,



Fig. 63 The heart scarab of a king called Sobekemsaf, EA 7876 © reproduction courtesy of the Trustees of The British Museum - London. Photo by G. Miniaci.

and formed evidently at the same time as the chamber itself; its base not having been detached (...) they discovered, placed around the head of the mummy, but over the linen, a diadem, composed of silver and beautiful mosaic work, its centre being formed of gold, representing an asp, the emblem of royalty. Inside the case, alongside the body, were deposited two bows, with six arrows, the heads of which were tipped with flint. (...) the Scarabaeus, which was purchased by the British Museum, from Mr. Salt's collection, was placed on the breast, without having, as is usual, any ornament attached to it". 474

The gilded *rishi* coffin⁴⁷⁵ and the green jasper and gold heart scarab⁴⁷⁶ (see Fig. 63), the latter in fact inscribed with the name of a different king called Sobekemsaf,⁴⁷⁷ were sold to the British Museum, while the diadem, which was assembled in modern times, entered the Leiden Museum.⁴⁷⁸ The bows and arrows have disappeared, though they might have gone to the British⁴⁷⁹ or the Leiden museums.⁴⁸⁰ Moreover, fragments of linen inscribed with a religious text were found sticking to the bitumen which lined the inside of the coffin.⁴⁸¹ The name of a king Antef, without a prenomen, occurs on the shroud fragments, but it is impossible to assign the scant remains of inscription to a precise funerary text.⁴⁸²

As testified by a manuscript of Prisse, in which below the drawing of one of Nubkheperre Antef's obelisks he noted, "obélisque de Drah abou Nagga- découvert par Triandafilo", 483 a Greek man called Triantaphyllos, also variously spelled Triantophalos, Triandaphilon, Triandaphilos, Trianda(f)filo or in Arabic Wardi, Werda, Ouardi or Vardé, 484 who settled in Thebes in order to take charge of Henry Salt's

⁴⁷¹ D. MANLEY, P. RÉE, Henry Salt (2001).

⁴⁷² D. MANLEY, P. RÉE, *Henry Salt* (2001), p. 202.

⁴⁷³ G. d'ATHANASI, A Brief Account (1836); G. d'ATHANASI, Catalogue (1837).

⁴⁷⁴ G. d'ATHANASI, *A Brief Account* (1836), p. 237-8.

⁴⁷⁵ See Cat. *r***T01BM**.

⁴⁷⁶ BM EA 7876, in H.R. HALL, *Catalogue* (1913), p. 22-3, no. 211. See discussion in I.E.S. EDWARDS, *Sebekemsaf's Heart-scarab* (1985), vol. I, p. 239-45.

⁴⁷⁷ S. BIRCH, On formulas relating to the heart (1870), p. 30-4; G. MINIACI, Un Sobekemsaf da Dra Abu el-Naga (2006), p. 79-80. See infra p. 73.

⁴⁷⁸ Leida AO. 11a in P.A.A. BOESER, *Das Diadem eines der Intefkönige* (1908-09), p. 30-1 and P.A.A. BOESER, *Beschreibung der Ägyptischen Sammlung* (1910), vol. II, p. 8, no. 70, pl. 18. Discussion in M.J. RAVEN, *The Antef diadem* (1988), p. 77-86.

⁴⁷⁹ H.E. WINLOCK, *The Rise and Fall* (1947), p. 117.

⁴⁸⁰ M.J. RAVEN, *The Antef diadem* (1988), p. 84-5.

⁴⁸¹ BM EA 10706, R. PARKINSON, S. QUIRKE, The Coffin of Prince Herunefer (1992), p. 50-1, n. 22.

⁴⁸² S. Quirke, *Rischisarg eines Königs Intef* (1994), p. 275-6.

⁴⁸³ M. DEWACHTER, L'exploitation de la nécropole royale de Dra Aboul Neggah (1985), p. 37, pl. 2.

W.R. DAWSON, E.P. UPHILL, revised by M.L. BIERBRIER, *Who was who* (1995), p. 418, with some imprecision, see M. DEWACHTER, *Un Grec de Louqsor* (1995), p. 119-29.

excavations, was connected with the discovery of the king's burial.⁴⁸⁵ The recent investigations of the German Archaeological Institute identified the remains of Nubkheperre Antef's pyramid south-west of TT 13, the tomb of Shuroy,⁴⁸⁶ along the main northern hill of Dra Abu el-Naga⁴⁸⁷ (see Fig. 47). Even though the burial chamber of the king has not been identified with certainty, it is possible to assert that the area investigated by Athanasi and Triantaphyllos around 1827 was along the slopes of the main hill of Dra Abu el-Naga north.

Two other rishi coffins belonging to the 17th dynasty kings Sekhemre Wepmaat Antef488 and Sekhemre Heruhirmaat Antef⁴⁸⁹ were seen for the first time by Anthony Charles Harris in 1848 in the store-house of Triantaphyllos at Thebes. 490 In 1849 Wilkinson saw the two coffins still in the possession of Triantaphyllos and he included a sketch of them in his notebook (see Fig. 64), as well as the rather bizarre information "found to the W of Dayr el Medieneh, not in its tbs, but covered over a pit. Supposed to have been concealed from Persians or from Shepherds?".491 Their find-spot remained unknown until 1855 when Wilkinson was again able to supply some information about the provenance of these coffins: "The Enentef Coffins were found at DrahAbooNégga, all the way⁴⁹² up the Hill. The Coffins bear from this tbs <tomb> SW-Karnak SESE <?>-Luxor SSE. A pit of brick to depth of 4 men both mummies covered with cloth & dirty thrown over them (v. <?> Map. 23) (at Thebes, therein possession <?> of Hawaga Werda Triantaphylos)". 493 The topographical information given by Wilkinson has proved to be less useful than expected, above all because he appended to the plan of the burial place some bearings that do not work⁴⁹⁴ (see Fig. 65). However, with the recent discovery of a pyramidion fragment belonging to Sekhemre Wepmaat Antef close to the area where the pyramid of Nubkheperre Antef lies, one can suppose that these two coffins were found along the slopes of the main hill of Dra Abu el-Naga north too. 495 The original account about the appearance of the two coffins does not record the finding of any other funerary equipment with them, but between 1845 and 1849 a canopic box appeared belonging to king Sekhemre Wepmaat Antef as part of the Clot-Bey collection⁴⁹⁶ (see Pl. 8.b).

Mariette's Excavations

It was also in this part of the Theban necropolis that Mariette focussed a significant part of his excavations during the second half of the 19th century. Here he (re-)discovered the tomb of Nubkheperre Antef, where he copied the inscriptions of one of its obelisks.⁴⁹⁷ Actually in his notes Mariette records, "*J'ai reconnu à Drah-abou-neggah l'emplacement de sept tombes royales qui sont: – celles du rois Ra-noub-Kheper-Entef et Sevek-em-saf, creusées à l'ouest de la plaine, dans les flancs d'une colline; le tombe du premier de ces rois est un hémi-spéos, et la façade était ornée de deux obélisques;* [...]",⁴⁹⁸ stressing the discovery of two, instead of one, royal tombs of the 17th dynasty. Puzzlingly, Mariette does not give any details about the tomb of

⁴⁸⁵ M. DEWACHTER, *Un Grec de Louqsor* (1995), p. 121, n. 8. Triantaphyllos shared his house with Yanni, see G.A. HOSKINS, *Visit to the Great Oasis* (1835), p. 2, and PM I², 1, p. 493; see also L. MANNICHE, *The Tombs of the Nobles* (1987), p. 100.

⁴⁸⁶ About the reading of the name Shuroy see M. BETRÒ, *Gli oggetti egiziani del Museo Archeologico di Udine* (1999), p. 109-22.

⁴⁸⁷ D. POLZ, A. SEILER, *Die Pyramidenanlage des Königs Nub-Cheper-Re Intef* (2003); D. POLZ., *The pyramid complex of Nubkheperre Intef* (2003), p. 12-4; see also W. GRAJETZKI, *Review "Polz D. - Seiler A., Die Pyramidenanlage"* (2008), p. 313-4.

⁴⁸⁸ See Cat. **rT01P**.

⁴⁸⁹ See Cat. **rT02P**.

⁴⁹⁰ J.H. TAYLOR, *Edward Stanley Poole's drawings* (2000), p. 155-8, pls. 20-1, especially n. 3. See also M. DEWACHTER, *L'exploitation de la nécropole royale de Dra Aboul Neggah* (1985), p. 53-4.

Wilkinson Mss. dep. e. 65, p. 61, 62 [former Wilkinson Mss. IX, 61-2], Bodleian Library, University of Oxford, UK. See also A. DODSON, *The Canopic Equipment*, (1994), p. 42, n. 31.

⁴⁹² The correction of the interpretation "half way up the Hill" given by Dodson (A. DODSON, The Canopic Equipment (1994), p. 42, n. 31) as "all the way up the Hill" is proposed in POLZ D., Der Beginn des Neuen Reiches (2007), p. 32, n. 121.

⁴⁹³ Wilkinson Mss. dep. e. 67, p. 79 [former Wilkinson Mss. XII, 79], Bodleian Library, University of Oxford, UK.

⁴⁹⁴ H.E. WINLOCK, *The Rise and Fall* (1947), p. 128. See discussion in G. MINIACI, *La tomba del Re Antef Sekhem-Ra Wpmaat* (2004), p. 67-70.

⁴⁹⁵ D. POLZ, New archaeological data from Dra' Abu el-Naga (2010), p. 343-54 and D. POLZ, Der Beginn des Neuen Reiches (2007), p. 133. See also D. POLZ, The royal and private necropolis (2005), p. 244-5.

⁴⁹⁶ M. DEWACHTER, *Importance du "Lepsius"* (1984), p. 287-8.

⁴⁹⁷ A. MARIETTE, Monuments divers (1872), pl. 50.

⁴⁹⁸ A. MARIETTE, Lettre de M. Aug. Mariette à M. le vicomte de Rougé (1860), p. 28.

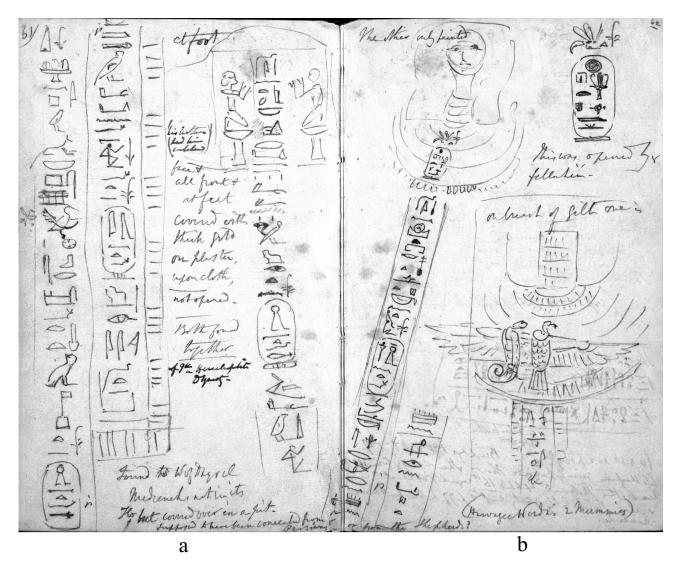


Fig. 64 The notes taken by Wilkinson on his notebook reproduce the hieroglyphic inscriptions on the *rishi* coffins of kings Sekhemre Heruhirmaat Antef and Wepmaat Antef; (a) Wilkinson Mss. dep. e 65, p. 61 [former Mss. IX, 61]; (b) Wilkinson Mss. dep. e 65, p. 62 [former Mss. IX, 62] © courtesy of the Bodleian Library, University of Oxford, UK.

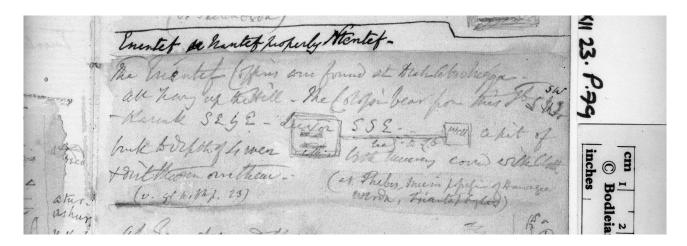


Fig. 65 The sketch shows the burial deposition of the coffins of kings Sekhemre Wepmaat Antef and Sekhemre Heruhirmaat Antef inside a single chamber at the end of a shaft. In the right upper part of the manuscript the place of location of the tomb "*Drah-aboo-Néggat*" is recorded. Wilkinson Mss. dep. e. 67, p. 79 [former Mss. XII, 79] © courtesy of the Bodleian Library, University of Oxford, UK.

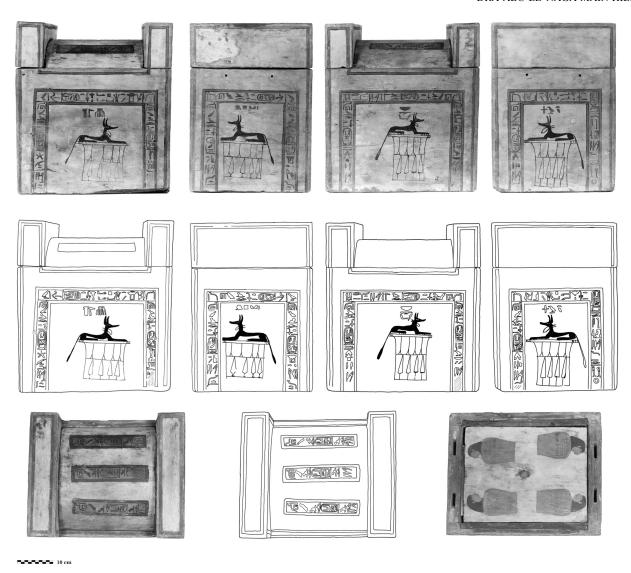


Fig. 66 Canopic box of the king Sobekemsaf, AO. 11, © Rijksmuseum van Oudheden - Leiden. Photos courtesy of the Rijksmuseum van Oudheden/drawings by P. Whelan.

Sobekemsaf. As Weill suggests, it was probably when Mariette discovered Antef Nubkheperre's tomb that he remembered the story about a golden scarab bearing the name of a king Sobekemsaf associated with the discovery of king Antef coffin from an account of d'Athanasi in 1827. Consequently, Mariette mistakenly associated the name of Sobekemsaf with that of Nubkheperre Antef in his notes. However, there could be some slight evidence that when the Gurna villagers discovered the tomb of Nubkheperre Antef in the 19th century, they could have also discovered near or under the royal pyramid the intact burial of a "king" called Sobekemsaf, whose funerary equipment they mixed with that of Nubkheperre Antef. It is relevant here to note that the German Institute of Archaeology have found a mid-13th dynasty shaft-tomb belonging to a high status individual under the pyramid of the king (see shaft K02.2, in Fig. 47). Therefore, what Mariette records in his notes could be this presently unproven link between Nubkheperre Antef and a king called Sobekemsaf buried in the shaft under the royal pyramid. Indeed, approximately around the same time as the discovery of the Nubkheperre Antef coffin, a canopic box belonging to a king called Sobekemsaf entered the National Museum of Antiquities in Leiden (see Fig. 66).

⁴⁹⁹ R. WEILL, *La fin du Moyen Empire* (1918), p. 363.

⁵⁰⁰ D. Polz, A. Seiler, *Die Pyramidenanlage des Königs Nub-Cheper-Re Intef* (2003), p. 79, fig. 13b.

⁵⁰¹ G. MINIACI, *Un Sobekemsaf da Dra Abu el-Naga* (2006), p. 75-87.

⁵⁰² Leiden S. 4. P.A.A. Boeser, *Beschreibung der Ägyptischen Sammlung* (1910), vol. II, p. 2-3, no. 8, pl. 7; L. Borchardt, *Der Kanopenkasten des Königs Sbk-m-s3f* (1967), p. 26.

The acquisition of the National Museum of Antiquities in Leiden also included the *rishi* coffin of a certain Montun(akht).⁵⁰³ Following the custom which prevailed amongst antiquity dealers to sell separately, and often to different persons, objects that were originally found together, the funerary equipment of Montunakht was undoubtedly a modern assemblage. Placed inside the coffin were a terra-cotta figure, a hawk, a shabti with model coffin inscribed for a woman named Kames,⁵⁰⁴ and a well-preserved wooden lyre.⁵⁰⁵

Although less documented, the discoveries made by Mariette in the area of Dra Abu el-Naga also included a series of private late Middle Kingdom-Second Intermediate Period burials. In January 1860, he discovered a rock-cut tomb belonging to the "accountant of the main enclosure" sš n hnrt wr Neferhotep at Dra Abu el-Naga. 506 Unfortunately, more details about the find-spot and the structure of the tomb are not provided. We might assume that the tomb was situated in the northern cemetery of Dra Abu el-Naga, where, as stated before, Mariette had already discovered several late Middle Kingdom-Second Intermediate Period burials, or in the surrounding area of Nubkheperre Antef's tomb, following an assumption of Winlock, 507 since the discovery of Neferhotep's tomb was made at practically the same time as that of Nubkheperre Antef in February 1860.⁵⁰⁸ We might also assume that the typology of the tomb belonged to the simplest form, such as a shaft with a single chamber, since no sign of further depositions was found and the range of funerary equipment was that expected for a single deceased.⁵⁰⁹ Unfortunately, Mariette never published a full account of the discovery of Neferhotep's tomb; he only mentions the structure and the burial equipment in relation to the discovery of an important hieratic accounts document known since his 1872 facsimile publication as Papyrus Boulag 18.510 In his description Mariette states that Neferhotep was buried in a coffin belonging to the *rishi* type. ⁵¹¹ Unfortunately, Mariette provides no more detail than "un cercueil sans inscription et de l'espèce dite richi" in describing the coffin,⁵¹² and since it is not stored in the Cairo museum and is absent both from the *Journal d'Entrée* and the early museum guides, 513 it seems likely that it was too fragile to be moved out of the burial chamber. Some discrepancies found between Mariette's descriptions and the museum objects record, raise the possibility that he misidentified the coffin type. However, he insists on the presence of a rishi coffin in his general observations on the difficulties in determining the date of the Dra Abu al-Naga burials.⁵¹⁴ As already stated, the burial equipment of the tomb included a wide range of funerary items combining elements from several different late Middle Kingdom burial types⁵¹⁵ (see Fig. 14). The dating of the Neferhotep can be defined more precisely, since the vizier Ankhu⁵¹⁶ occurs on the papyrus documents found amongst the grave goods. The vizier Ankhu is dated to the reign of Khendjer or immediately before by two stelae, Louvre C 11 and C 12, which belonged

⁵⁰³ See Cat. **rX01Lei**. The name of the owner is not preserved completely in the inscription on the coffin but it has been plausibly restored by Boeser in *Beschreibung der Ägyptischen Sammlung* (1910), vol. II, p. 3.

This name might suggest a link with Second Intermediate Period.

Leiden AH. 218. See P.A.A. BOESER, *Beschreibung der Ägyptischen Sammlung* (1910), vol. II, p. 3, pl. 22, fig. 18. The presence of musical instruments in *rishi* burials is attested in Cat. *r*T03VA, rT02MMA, rT05NY (clappers), rT01PH. See also A.M. LYTHGOE, A. LANSING, N. de Garis DAVIES, *The Egyptian Expedition 1915-16* (1917), p. 22.

Mariette labelled the cemetery as being "de la XIme dynastie, de la XVIIme et du commencement de la XVIIIme dynastie". In Mariette's day there was still confusion between the 11th and the 17th dynasty, see *supra* n. 382.

⁵⁰⁷ H.E. WINLOCK, The tombs of the kings of the seventeenth dynasty (1924), p. 233.

⁵⁰⁸ Mariette writes to Chabas in February 1860: "En ce moment, je suis sur la piste de la tombe d'Entef Râ-noub-kheper, qui est ravagée, mais où je puis trouver quelque stèle", see F. CHABAS, P. VIREY, François-Joseph Chabas (1899), p. xxiv-xxv.

⁵⁰⁹ G. MINIACI, S. QUIRKE, Mariette at Dra Abu el-Naga and the tomb of Neferhotep (2008), p. 18.

⁵¹⁰ A. MARIETTE, Les papyrus égyptiens (1872), vol. II, p. 6-7.

⁵¹¹ See Cat. **rT01ma**.

⁵¹² A. MARIETTE, *Les papyrus égyptiens* (1872), vol. II, p. 6; Mariette refers to the coffin of Neferhotep without highlighting any peculiar feature that could distinguish this coffin from other *rishi* types, see G. MINIACI, S. QUIRKE, *Mariette at Dra Abu el-Naga and the tomb of Neferhotep* (2008), p. 13.

⁵¹³ A. MARIETTE, *Notice des principaux monuments* (1864); A. MARIETTE, *Notice des principaux monuments* (1874) and G. MASPERO, *Guide du visiteur* (1883).

A. MARIETTE, Les papyrus égyptiens (1872), vol. II, p. 7, "le cercueil richi de la tombe de Nefer-hotep". On the funerary equipment of Neferhotep and the change in late Middle Kingdom burial customs, see G. MINIACI, S. QUIRKE, Reconceiving the Tomb in the Late Middle Kingdom (2009), p. 339-83.

⁵¹⁵ For a detailed description of the funerary equipment of Neferhotep and its dating, see *supra* p. 15.

⁵¹⁶ D. FRANKE, Personendaten (1984), p. 137, Dossier no. 173 (d); W. GRAJETZKI, Die höchsten Beamten (2000), p. 24-6.

to the offering-chapel of Amenyseneb.⁵¹⁷ The presence of two partly broken cartouches with the names of a king named Sobekhotep in the largest manuscript confirm a general dating to the mid-13th dynasty.⁵¹⁸

Carter's Excavations

Between 1908 and 1913 Carter worked along the slopes of the main northern hill, where he cleared a pyramid-tomb, labelled "tomb 83", north of the Deir el-Bakhit monastery ruins. 519 Recent excavations of the German Archaeological Institute have identified the structure with an anonymous tomb near the top of the hill. The tomb comprises an outer and inner courtyard, a rock cut chamber with a shaft and burial chamber, and the

remains of a mud brick structure above it (K 94.1, following the German Archaeological Institute numbering system/-147- in Kampp's system). 520 This structure has been hypothetically identified as the burial place for king Kamose, due to the similarity of its plan with that of K93.11.521

The University of Pisa Excavations

The Italian Expedition at Dra Abu el-Naga (MIDAN-Missione Italiana a Dra Abu el-Naga) working since 2003 in the northern area of the Theban necropolis, discovered a new and at present anonymous tomb connected via a secondary - also unknown - tomb ("E") to a small Ramesside rock-cut tomb decorated for Huy, a priest attached to the cult of the deified king Amenhotep I (TT 14).522 As we still lack the name of the original owner, this new tomb is labelled MIDAN.05 after the expedition's acronym and the year of its first archaeological season (see Fig. 67). Being the larger tomb of the group, oriented NE-SW, MIDAN.05 is clearly more ancient and important and was probably made for a high official between the end of the 17th and beginning of the 18th dynasty, 523 but was subjected over time to reuse and modifications to

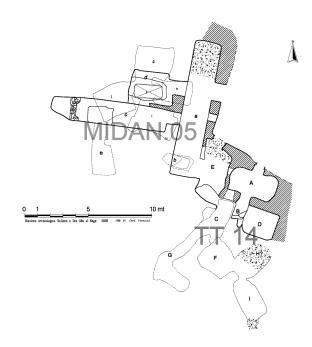


Fig. 67 Plan of tombs TT 14 and MIDAN.05 © Missione dell'Università di Pisa a Dra Abu el-Naga.

its original plan. Unfortunately, the tomb has been plundered in modern and ancient times and suffered the devastating effects of flash-floods. 524 During the clearance of room d in 2006, excavations revealed a shaft (f),

⁵¹⁷ Following the Turin King list, the position of Khendjer in the 13th dynasty is early, around the first half of the 13th dynasty, see K.S.B. RYHOLT, *The Political Situation* (1997), p. 73, *Catalogue of Attestations* File 13/22. Photographs of the two stelae are published in W.K. SIMPSON, *The terrace of the Great God at Abydos* (1974), pl. 80, and the inscriptions were discussed in J. von BECKERATH, *Untersuchungen zur politischen Geschichte* (1964), p. 47-9; K. KITCHEN, *Amenysonb in Liverpool* (1962), p. 159-60 and J. BOURRIAU, *Pharaohs and Mortals* (1988), p. 60-3. However, even leaving aside the information of the Turin King list, a dating of vizier Ankhu, and consequently the date of the Boulaq papyri, cannot be moved later than the mid 13th dynasty, because the writing *htp di nswt* formula on Louvre C 11 is frequently attested during the reigns of Sobekhotep IV and Neferhotep I but not after the reign of Sobekhotep VI, see P. VERNUS, *Sur les graphies de la formule "l'offrande que donne le roi"* (1991), p. 141-52.

⁵¹⁸ For discussions see J. von BECKERATH, *Die Könige mit dem Thronnamen s\u00e4m-r^c \u00e4w-t3wj* (1959), p. 81-5 and O.D. BERLEV, *Замечания к папирусу Булак 18* (1962), p. 50-62. A summary is in QUIRKE S., *The Administration of Egypt* (1990), p. 12-3.

⁵¹⁹ PM I², 2, p. 611. *GIArch*. Carter Mss. i.J.294.

⁵²⁰ D. POLZ, A. SEILER, S.T. SMITH, Bericht über die 4. und 5. Grabungskampagne (1995), p. 224.

⁵²¹ D. POLZ, Der Beginn des Neuen Reiches (2007), p. 162-8.

⁵²² For previous bibliography on the two tombs see G. MINIACI, *Main excavations and surveys in Dra Abu el-Naga. Bibliographic references* (2009), p. 79.

⁵²³ M. BETRÒ, P. DEL VESCO, A. GHIROLDI et al., Preliminary Report (2007), p. 23-40.

⁵²⁴ P. DEL VESCO, Archaeological context (2009), p. 138-42.

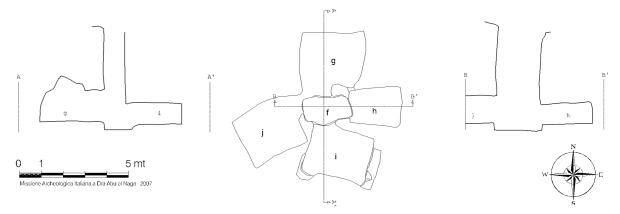


Fig. 68 Plan and sections of the shaft rooms in tomb MIDAN.05 © Missione dell'Università di Pisa a Dra Abu el-Naga.

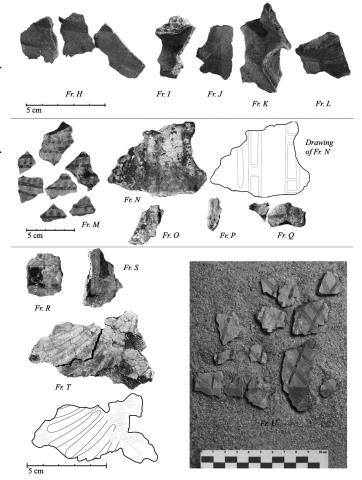
approximately 5 m deep, with a low rock-cut parapet all around its mouth. Clearance of the shaft during the 2006-2007 seasons revealed four funerary chambers at the bottom, one on each side (Fig. 68).

Exploration of the western chamber, labelled *j*, brought to light various artefacts including many fragments of painted and decorated plaster belonging to one or more *rishi* coffins. The fragments were found overlapping

each other, piled up and pressed inside the compact sand deposit; however they were not scattered all around the chamber but gathered together in the centre, roughly suggesting the position of the ancient coffins to which they belonged. At the time of the later reoccupation of this space, which took place around the Saite Period, the *rishi* coffins were already so badly decayed that the new interments were simply placed over them. ⁵²⁵

All the fragments are in a poor state of preservation; scant traces of hieroglyphic signs can be seen on some pieces, but the ink is so faded that it is impossible to identify the original inscription. Traces left by the wood originally underlying the plaster coating are visible on the reverse of the fragments, although only a few pieces of burnt wood were found in room *j*. The type of the fragments can be identified as belonging to the headdress, the face, the *wsh*-collar, the vulture pectoral, the feathered torso and the vertical band containing the offering formula (see Fig. 69). The fragments can be broadly dated between the late 17th and early 18th dynasty.⁵²⁶

Fig. 69 Fragments of *rishi* coffins from MIDAN.05; see also fragments in the Cat. *r***T01Pi** © Missione dell'Università di Pisa a Dra Abu el-Naga.



⁵²⁵ M. BETRÒ, G. MINIACI, The fragments of rishi coffins from the tomb MIDAN.05 (2009), p. 12.

⁵²⁶ M. BETRÒ, G. MINIACI, The fragments of rishi coffins from the tomb MIDAN.05 (2009), p. 9-23. See also Cat. rT01Pi.

Dra Abu el-Naga south: the hill of el-Mandara and the Bet Pizzinini

The main hill of Dra Abu el-Naga north is divided from Dra Abu el-Naga south by a small wadi, named Sheikh el-Atevat from a 19th century toponym. The area of Dra Abu el-Naga south is formed by a small hill, called el-Mandara, surmounted by a pyramid of rough mud bricks, which rises between the mouth of the wadi Sheikh el-Ateyat and another larger wadi called Khawi el-Baradsah.⁵²⁷ The southern part of Dra Abu el-Naga south was, in the 19th century, marked by locally as Bet Pizzinini, and can be identified today as a broad, squat hill (see Fig.



Piccinini's house, known Fig. 70 Part of the landscape of Dra Abu el-Naga south viewed from the east. Photo by locally as Bet Pizzinini, and

G. Miniaci.

70). A set of tombs in the southern part of the hill is called Sheikh el-Meshaikh, on the top of which and overlooking the Asasif valley was a ruined pyramid called again el-Mandara. The latter is not to be confused with the other toponym "el-Mandara" which defines the more northerly smaller hill.⁵²⁸

The Franco-Tuscan Expedition

During March 1829 the Franco-Tuscan expedition led by Jean François Champollion and Ippolito Rosellini arrived in Thebes and settled in the house of Piccinini⁵²⁹ (*Bet Pizzinini*)⁵³⁰ along the southern hills of Dra Abu el-Naga.⁵³¹ The house was described by Rosellini as laying half way up the hill and surrounded by tombs, "*piantata a metà del monte, in mezzo appunto alle tombe e all'orrido aspetto degli scavi*"⁵³² (see see Fig. 71). The house, as stated in a letter of Champollion and in the notes of Bonomi, ⁵³³ was just above the tomb now numbered TT 161.⁵³⁴ When the British traveller Hoskins visited Piccinini's house, he found "*a single compartment consisted of his whole house; his windows, shutters, steps and floor were all composed of wooden coffins*".⁵³⁵

Rosellini, indeed, in his notebooks recorded a wooden plank used as threshold of one of the rooms in his house, which was inscribed for the "great [king's wife]", "lady of the entire land", Ahmes-Meryetamun,

⁵²⁷ C.S. FISHER, A group of Theban Tombs (1924), p. 34; P.E. NEWBERRY, Topographical notes (1906), p. 84, no. 64.

⁵²⁸ P.E. NEWBERRY, *Topographical notes* (1906), p. 83, no. 57; J.G. WILKINSON, *The manners and customs* (1847), see "map of the Theban necropolis", letter Z. See *infra* Fig. 72.

W.R. DAWSON, E.P. UPHILL, revised by M.L. BIERBRIER, *Who was who* (1995), p. 333-4. E. BRESCIANI, *Il richiamo della piramide* (2000), p. 17.

Probably, the first mud-brick house to be built on the Dra Abu el-Naga hills in modern time was that of Piccinini, see P.E. NEWBERRY, *Topographical notes* (1906), p. 84, no. 66; C. SIMPSON, *Modern Qurna* (2003), p. 246.

⁵³¹ See the forthcoming results of the research project called 'Progetto Rosellini' which consists of the digitization of the first Italian Egyptologist's archive to a web-enabled database of the most important unpublished manuscripts and objects regarding the famous Franco-Tuscan expedition of 1828-29.

⁵³² M. Betrò, Con Ippolito Rosellini (2000), p. 107.

⁵³³ J.-F. CHAMPOLLION, Lettres (1833), p. 178; P.E. NEWBERRY, Topographical notes (1906), p. 83.

⁵³⁴ PM I², 1, p. 493; M. BETRÒ, *Con Ippolito Rosellini* (2000), p. 87-8; M. DEWACHTER, *Nouveaux documents relatifs à l'expédition franco-toscane* (1988), p. 55, see also n. 73.

⁵³⁵ The Marquis of NORTHAMPTON, W. SPIEGELBERG, P. NEWBERRY, Report (1908), p. 2-3.

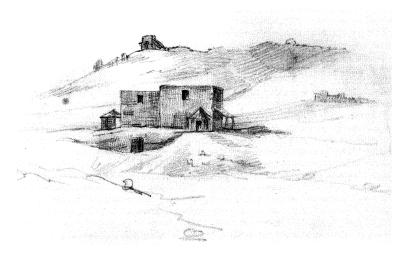


Fig. 71 The house of the Italian collector Piccinini shown in a watercolour of Nestor l'Hôte. The house was located along the slopes of Dra Abu el-Naga south just above TT 161, which was used by the mission as a storeroom; in the background are the ruins of the pyramid with large arch called el-Bawaba, from HARLÉ, D., LEFEBVRE, J., Sur le Nil avec Champollion (1993), p. 256.

followed by a part of the Nut spell.⁵³⁶ The kind of spell, well attested on the lids of royal and private coffins between the end of the

17th and beginning of the 18th dynasty,⁵³⁷ and the fact that the plank served as a threshold suggests that it was a fragment from a coffin lid, which belonged to a queen named Ahmes-Meryetamun. Unfortunately, neither Rosellini nor Wilkinson, who copied the same inscription,⁵³⁸ gave any useful details about the coffin's type. However, a recent reassessment by Marilina Betrò places the queen in the late 17th dynasty.⁵³⁹

The Fifth Marquis of Northampton's Excavations

The second part of the mission directed by Newberry and Spiegelberg on behalf of the Marquis of Northampton in 1898-99 focused on Dra Abu el-Naga south. On el-Mandara hill, just bordering Dra Abu el-Naga north, the mission found the tomb of Nebamun (TT 146),⁵⁴⁰ an official of the New Kingdom. Following part of the text of the Abbott papyrus, where the tomb of the 17th dynasty king Sekhemre Shedtawy Sobekemsaf is said to have been violated by ancient thieves from the tomb of a person named Nebamun, "overseer of the granary" lived during the reign of Tuthmosis III,⁵⁴¹ the excavators believed they had found the tomb mentioned in the papyrus, and with it also the royal tomb, approximately identified with the remains of a brick pyramid above.⁵⁴² Unfortunately, Newberry and Spiegelberg were not able to discover the entrance to the king's tomb, and today significant doubts remain about the identification of Sobekemsaf's real burial place.⁵⁴³

The mission identified also a series of scattered objects dating mostly to the 17th dynasty in mummy pits and tombs grouped in the area.⁵⁴⁴ No records of *rishi* coffins were reported in the publication or in the notes of Spiegelberg kept in the Griffith Institute archive.⁵⁴⁵

⁵³⁶ Rosellini Mss. 284, 107. See M. BETRÒ, *La regina ahmoside Ahmes-Meritamon* (2007), p. 55.

The spell is already attested in the so called *Fugeninschriften* in Middle Kingdom coffins: S. GRALLERT, *Die Fugeninschriften auf Särgen des Mittleren Reiches* (1996), p. 147-4, Text G, 158-9. *Cf.* N. BILLING, *Nut* (2002).

Wilkinson Mss. dep. e. 59, 193, The Bodleyan Library, University of Oxford, UK. PM I², 2, p. 834 and C. BLANKENBERG-VAN DELDEN, *Ahmes Merytamon and Ahhotep I* (1981), p. 15-9.

⁵³⁹ See M. Betrò, *The neglected queen: Meryetamun* (forthcoming).

⁵⁴⁰ PM I², 1, p. 258; the position of TT 146 in Kampp's plan 6 is correct, see F. KAMPP, *Die thebanische Nekropole* (1996), pl. 6; while its position in PM, "Map II. Dra' Abu el-naga'. South" is incorrect.

⁵⁴¹ pAbbott, 3, 1-3, in T.E. PEET, *The Great Tomb-robberies* (1930), p. 38. See also M. BETRÒ, *Un cono funerario dall'area di M.I.D.A.N.05 a Dra Abu el-Naga* (2010), p. 5-16.

The Marquis of NORTHAMPTON, W. SPIEGELBERG, P. NEWBERRY, *Report* (1908), p. 14-5. A recent re-assessment of the identity of the Nebamun discovered by the Northampton expedition can be found in M. BETRÒ, *Un cono funerario dall'area di M.I.D.A.N.05 a Dra Abu el-Naga* (2010), p. 5-16.

⁵⁴³ See J. CAPART, B. VAN DE WALLE, A.H. GARDINER, *New Light on the Ramesside tomb-robberies* (1936), p. 185-6; I.E.S. EDWARDS, *Sebekemsaf's Heart-scarab* (1985), vol. I, p. 243, and F. KAMPP, *Die thebanische Nekropole* (1996), p. 430-2.

⁵⁴⁴ The Marquis of Northampton, W. Spiegelberg, P. Newberry, *Report* (1908), p. 17-8.

I am deeply indebted to Paul Whelan who kindly put at my disposal all the material he studied on the excavations of Spiegelberg at Thebes.

Carter's Excavations

During his investigations in the Theban necropolis in the season 1913-14, Carter also investigated an area situated along el-Mandara⁵⁴⁶ slopes at Dra Abu el-Naga south, as was related by Carter himself to Sir Alan Gardiner⁵⁴⁷ (see Fig. 72). Here Carter discovered a series of rock-cut tombs and pits he numbered from 69 to 78.⁵⁴⁸ Most of the burials date from the late Middle Kingdom to the early 18th dynasty. Amongst them, tomb no. 74 consisted of a pit cut into the rock and two burial chambers at its end. In the eastern chamber, Carter discovered two *rishi* coffins⁵⁴⁹ belonging to the late phase of its typological development.⁵⁵⁰ Also part their burial equipment (see Pl. 4.d) seems to point to an early 18th dynasty more than a Second Intermediate Period.

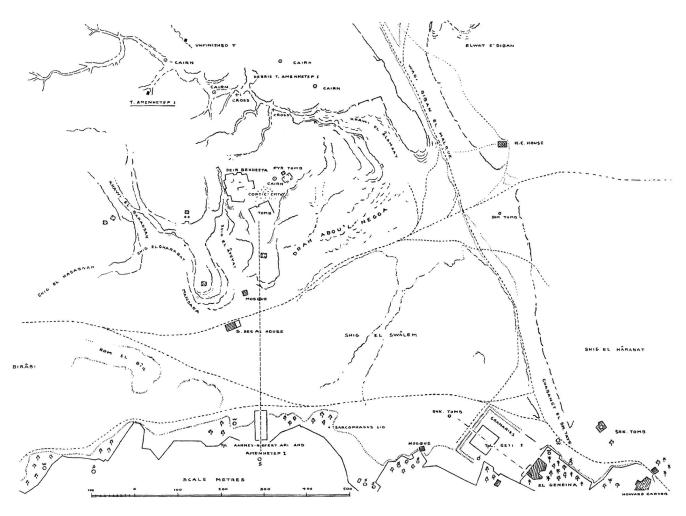


Fig. 72 Map of Dra Abu el-Naga by Howard Carter, from H. CARTER, *Report on the tomb of Zeser-ka-ra Amenhetep I* (1916), pl. 19.

Actually, in Dra Abu el-Naga there are two toponyms called el-Mandara (see *supra* n. 528), one in the northern part of Dra Abu el-Naga south and another in the southernmost part of Dra Abu el-Naga, see G. MINIACI, *The archaeological exploration of Dra Abu el-Naga* (2009), fig. 19. From the notes of Gardiner, see *infra* n. 547, it is clear that Carter investigated the northernmost area, since Gardiner himself used the map published by Carter (see Fig. 72) where only one area called el-Mandara is recorded.

⁵⁴⁷ A.H. GARDINER, A stele of the early eighteenth dynasty (1916), p. 256.

⁵⁴⁸ *Cf.* PM I², 2, p. 611 with some imprecision, because it places the burials of the "w^cb-priest" Senebmiu, see Cat. **rT01ndg**, of Reri, see Cat. **rT04NY**, and of the anonymous coffin Cat. **rT07NY**, in the area called "*Tombs in el-Mandara*. (*Carter 69-78*)", whereas they all come from el-Birabi, see *infra* p. 83, 93-4, 96.

⁵⁴⁹ See Cat. **rT28carca** and Cat. **rT29carca**.

⁵⁵⁰ See GIArch. Carter Mss. i.J.300.1. The whole group is going to be published by the author.

Dra Abu el-Naga south: el-Birabi

The southernmost part of Dra Abu el-Naga comprises a varied and extensive area. It is divided into a rocky sector, called el-Taffel, just bordering Deir el-Bahri valley and overlooking the Asasif plain, and a flat area extending east of the hills to the cultivation.⁵⁵¹ The area of el-Birabi is part of Dra Abu el-Naga south and extends into its southern plain. The causeway of Hatshepsut's funerary temple generally marks the border of Dra Abu el-Naga south (see Fig. 73). The area around the latter part of the causeway and the funerary temples of Deir el-Bahri has been confusingly associated with either Dra Abu el-Naga, el-Birabi, or the Asasif necropolis. The use of different labels in old topographies has created such imprecision⁵⁵² that archaeological missions working in the area usually refer to it as being part of the Asasif.⁵⁵³



Fig. 73 Aerial view of Deir el-Bahri valley and the plain of el-Birabi. On the right, the latter end of the hill of Dra Abu el-Naga south; still visible on the lower right is the entrance of the large *saff* tomb C 62. Photo by M. Betrò.

⁵⁵¹ See The Marquis of Northampton, W. Spiegelberg, P. Newberry, *Report* (1908), pl. 2.

⁵⁵² PM I², 2, p. xiv.

⁵⁵³ H.E. WINLOCK, Excavations at Thebes in 1912-13 (1914), p. 12.

Passalacqua's Excavations

In 1822 Giuseppe Passalacqua, an Italian horse trader, took up residence in the village of "Gurnah" for three years in order to collect antiquities. Among the finds he brought to Europe from Thebes there is the canopic box inscribed for the king Djehuty and presented to a queen called Mentuhotep⁵⁵⁴ (see Fig. 118). The description of this discovery was made by Passalacqua himself who records: "elle était placé par terre dans un tombeau de Thebes, près d'une momie, dont aucun caractère ne la distinguait de celles qu'on découvre le plus souvent, tel que le 1538, quoique ayant été déposée dans un cercueil moins riche en peinture que le 1537". ⁵⁵⁵ The passage

is far from clear, because the coffin to which Passalacqua refers, richly decorated with paintings representing a great number of divinities and texts, belongs to a much later period than the canopic box. However, it is noteworthy that the canopic box was found to have been used as a toilet set and not accommodate the viscera of the deceased; an unparalleled feature amongst canopic boxes which suggests that it was re-employed. Around the same period, and certainly no longer than four years after the departure of Passalacqua from Thebes, Wilkinson was able to copy the religious texts on a rectangular coffin of an identically named queen Mentuhotep which clearly belonged to the Second

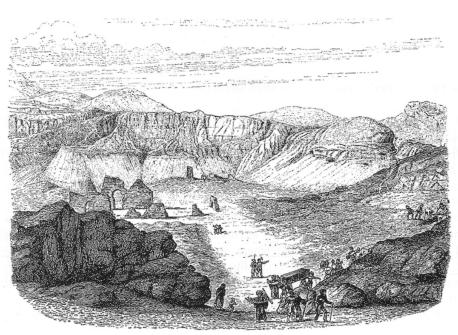


Fig. 74 Drawing based on a watercolour painting by Passalacqua showing his clearance of the intact Middle Kingdom tomb of the "estate overseer" Mentuhotep found in 1823 along the southern slopes of Dra Abu el-Naga, after G. STEINDORFF, *Das Grab des Mentuhotep* (1896), p. 1.

Intermediate Period.⁵⁵⁶ This seems to be more than just a chance coincidence, even if it is not possible to assert with absolute confidence that the two queens are the same person.⁵⁵⁷ In theory, Wilkinson could have seen a coffin belonging to a different queen Mentuhotep a few years after Passalacqua, which was not related to the canopic box.

The find-spot of the canopic box was near Passalacqua's residence. As pointed out by Winlock, in the 19th century Gurnah was located in the part of the necropolis north of the Ramesseum, in an area between Dra Abu el-Naga and the temple of Sethi I.⁵⁵⁸ Following the drawing published by Steindorff based on a watercolour painting made by Passalacqua it is possible to identify this location more precisely (see Fig. 74). It depicts Passalacqua's clearance of the intact late Middle Kingdom tomb of the "estate overseer" Mentuhotep discovered amidst the north-eastern slopes of Deir el-Bahri valley. The direction taken by the workmen while carrying items from the tomb possibly to the house of Passalacqua is informative; they were moving towards the north-east, *i.e.* to Dra Abu el-Naga south. ⁵⁵⁹

⁵⁵⁴ See *supra* p. 19-20.

⁵⁵⁵ G. PASSALACQUA, Catalogue raisonné (1826), p. 154.

⁵⁵⁶ Now extensively published in C. GEISEN, Die Totentexte des verschollenen Sarges der Königin Mentuhotep (2004).

⁵⁵⁷ See D. WILDUNG, Die Rolle ägyptischer Könige (1969), p. 25.

⁵⁵⁸ H.E. WINLOCK, The tombs of the kings of the seventeenth dynasty (1924), p. 271, n. 3.

⁵⁵⁹ PM I², 2, p. 622-3; G. STEINDORFF, *Das Grab des Mentuhotep* (1896), p. 1 (watercolour), 3-31 (coffin), pls. 1-5. See also H. WILLEMS, *Chests of Life* (1988), T2Be, p. 114-5. The discovery of the intact Middle Kingdom burial occurred on 4th December 1823, see G. PASSALACQUA, *Catalogue raisonné* (1826), p. 114-38. See also P. WHELAN, *Mere scraps of rough wood? 17th-18th dynasty stick shabtis* (2007), p. 1-3.

It seems convincing therefore that the canopic box of Djehuty would have lain somewhere around Dra Abu el-Naga south.

The Fifth Marquis of Northampton's Excavations

The area searched by the Northampton's mission extended also to el-Birabi, where they probably found the funerary cones of the "high priest of Amun" and "overseer of the sealers" Djehuty who lived under the reign of kings Sequenere Djehuty-aa and Ahmose⁵⁶⁰ (see Fig. 75). Indeed, several funerary cones belonging to the same person were found by Winlock in a structure located at the eastern border of the causeway of Hatshepsut's funerary temple.⁵⁶¹

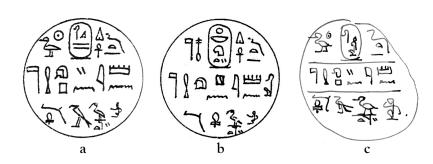


Fig. 75 Drawings of the inscriptions on three funerary cones belonging to the "high priest of Amun" and "overseer of the sealers" Djehuty; (a) and (b) from The Marquis of NORTHAMPTON, W. SPIEGELBERG, P. NEWBERRY, *Report* (1908), pl. 24, nos. 11-12; (c) funerary cone from the rubbish above the tomb 62/65, *GIArch*. Carter Mss. i.J.290.15 © reproduced with permission of Griffith Institute, University of Oxford, UK.

The Excavations of Carter and Carnarvon (I) - The Tomb of Tetiky

The Fifth Earl of Carnarvon visited Egypt for the first time in 1903. Residing in a warm climate such as Egypt during the winter season was advised by his doctors in order to escape the cold English weather. His interest in archaeology arose after many days of boredom during these winter sojourns.⁵⁶² The first season of Lord



Carnarvon's excavations in Luxor took place somewhere on the hill of Sheikh Abdel-Gurnah during 1907. The area allotted to Carnarvon by Arthur Weigall was deliberately chosen being some "rubbish mounds of the hill", as Weigall himself labelled it in a letter. Indeed, the area turned out to be one of the poorest sectors of the Theban necropolis, and the only remarkable find of the season was a coffin of a cat. ⁵⁶³ The next season, following Maspero's advice, who was at that time head of the Service des Antiquités, Carnarvon applied for a specific area

Fig. 76 The area of el-Birabi extending into the plain east of the southern hill of Dra Abu el-Naga. In the foreground the modern mosque, behind which lays the tomb of Tetaky (TT 15). Photo by G. Miniaci.

⁵⁶⁰ The Marquis of NORTHAMPTON, W. SPIEGELBERG, P. NEWBERRY, *Report* (1908), p. 4 (list of works held at el-Birabi), 35, pl. 24 (11, 12).

⁵⁶¹ H.E. WINLOCK, Excavations at Thebes in 1912-13 (1914), p. 16; H.E. WINLOCK, The tombs of the kings of the seventeenth dynasty (1924), p. 264-5; D. POLZ, Der Beginn des Neuen Reiches (2007), p. 149-50.

⁵⁶² N.C. REEVES, J.H. TAYLOR, *Howard Carter before Tutankhamun* (1992), p. 86.

⁵⁶³ N.C. STRUDWICK, *The Legacy of Lord Carnarvon* (2001), p. 5.

running from the east end of the valley known as Asasif north "to the tomb of Entoof at Drah Aboul Neggah" - *i.e.* to Dra Abu el-Naga north - as can be read in a letter sent by Carnarvon to Arthur Weigall in March 1907.⁵⁶⁴

The results were soon remarkable; there he found the substantially intact tomb of Tetiky.⁵⁶⁵ The importance of the discovery urged Carnarvon to seek the aid of an expert Egyptologist. On Maspero's advice, he employed Howard Carter. Lord Carnarvon was to find Carter to be not only a learned expert, a fine archaeologist and artist, but above all a true friend.⁵⁶⁶ However, Carter only joined the archaeological mission sometime after work had begun and his absence during the early excavations creates certain ambiguities in the recordings of the report. Since its discovery by Carnaryon, the tomb numbered TT 15 in the Topographical Catalogue of Gardiner and Weigall, 567 has for a long time been lost under modern houses, but has recently been uncovered. Partly cut into the rock, it lies on the lower slopes of the southernmost hill of Dra Abu el-Naga at the eastern end of the Hatshepsut causeway where the modern road turns to skirt the hillside, and just behind the mosque standing at the corner⁵⁶⁸ (see Fig. 76). The structure, made chiefly from crude mud-brick, comprises two courtyards enclosed by a low mud-brick wall and a freestanding building consisting of a vaulted mud-brick painted chapel which lies in the northern courtyard⁵⁶⁹ (see Fig. 77).

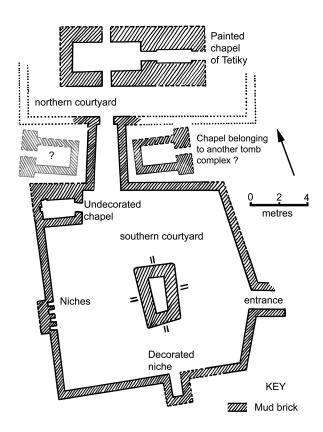


Fig. 77 Plan of the tomb of Tetiky (TT 15), adapted from Earl of CARNARVON, H. CARTER, *Five Years' Explorations at Thebes* (1912), pl. 2. Drawing by P. Whelan.

Along the southern wall of the painted chapel Tetiky's coffin is depicted; it belongs to the *rishi* type⁵⁷⁰ (see Fig. 129). Tetiky was one of the highest officials of the New Kingdom, "king's son"⁵⁷¹ and "mayor of Thebes", who probably lived under the reign of king Ahmose, because one of the female relatives of Tetiky was royal nurse to queen Ahmes Nefertari.⁵⁷² Amongst the scenes of his chapel, the queen is shown with white skin, perhaps indicating her contemporaneity with the paintings.⁵⁷³ Twelve years later, in 1924, the tomb was briefly re-investigated by Percy Newberry, Oscar Durham – deputising for the expedition's benefactor Robert Mond - and Norman de Garis Davies, who intended to make a more thorough report. Just within or slightly outside the northern courtyard in a pit east of the painted chamber, Durham found a badly damaged *rishi* coffin belonging to a man named Senebmiu, a *w*¹*b*-priest attached to the cults of the god Amun and king Mentuhotep Nebhepetre.⁵⁷⁴ In the same pit were two wooden canopic jars for the lady "Nubherkhetes"⁵⁷⁵ bearing inscriptions with incomplete hieroglyphs.⁵⁷⁶ Beneath the floor of

⁵⁶⁴ N.C. REEVES, J.H. TAYLOR, Howard Carter before Tutankhamun (1992), p. 86.

Actually, the dwellers of Qurna advised Lord Carnarvon about the existence of an intact tomb on the eastern edge of the ancient village of Dra Abu el-Naga south: "a spot a few metres to the north of the village mosque, where, according to the natives, lay a hidden tomb", Earl of CARNARVON, H. CARTER, *Five Years' Explorations at Thebes* (1912), p. 2, 12-21 with pls. 1-13.

⁵⁶⁶ N.C. REEVES, J.H. TAYLOR, Howard Carter before Tutankhamun (1992), p. 85-7.

⁵⁶⁷ A.H. GARDINER, A.E.P. WEIGALL, A topographical catalogue (1913).

⁵⁶⁸ N. de Garis DAVIES, *The tomb of Tetaky* (1925), p. 10.

⁵⁶⁹ For a more accurate description of the architecture see N. de Garis DAVIES, *The tomb of Tetaky* (1925), p. 11; P. WHELAN, *Mere scraps of rough wood? 17th- 18th dynasty stick shabtis* (2007), p. 10-2.

⁵⁷⁰ See Cat. rT08CarCa.

⁵⁷¹ For this title in the Second Intermediate Period, see G. MINIACI, *Il potere nella 17a dinastia* (2010), p. 99-131.

⁵⁷² M. EATON-KRAUSS, *Four notes* (1988), p. 205.

⁵⁷³ N. de Garis DAVIES, *The tomb of Tetaky* (1925), p. 14, pl. 2.

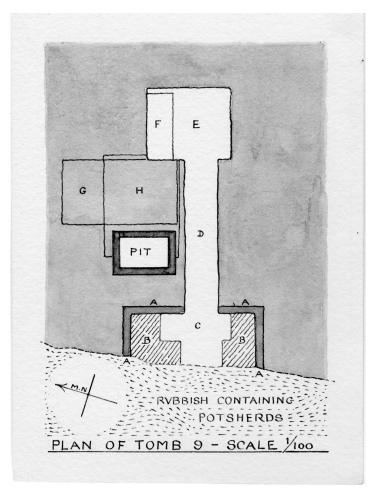
⁵⁷⁴ See Cat. **rT01ndg**. PM I², 2, p. 611; N. de Garis DAVIES, *The tomb of Tetaky* (1925), p. 12.

⁵⁷⁵ Perhaps to read *Nwb-ḥr-ḥwj-t-s*, see H. RANKE, *Peronennamen* (1935), p. 191, no. 20.

⁵⁷⁶ See *supra* p. 4-7 and *infra* p. 132-3.

one of four niches in the western wall of the southern courtyard were found numerous stick shabtis and their model sarcophagi.⁵⁷⁷ One of the latter, belonging to Tetinefer, had depicted on the lid a head and a collar with its hair covered by the entire skin of a bird, but its head replaced by that of the man or woman.⁵⁷⁸

The Excavations of Carter and Carnarvon (II) - Tomb No. 9



Once the clearance of Tetiky's tomb was completed, Lord Carnarvon and Carter discovered a 17th dynasty tomb, designated with the number 9 in their excavation records. The exact find-spot of this tomb was not recorded but it should not be that far from the area where Tetiky's tomb lies. Following Carter's indication, the site lay between the native house known as "Beit el-Meleitên" and the village mosque, about one hundred and fifty metres north-east of the mouth of the Deir el-Bahri valley.⁵⁷⁹ Carter and Carnarvon were still working somewhere on the southern slopes of Dra Abu el-Naga. In the courtyard among a great mass of pottery and mutilated mummies they found the famous tablet on which the history of the defeat of the Hyksos by Kamose is recorded.⁵⁸⁰ From one of the funerary chambers of the tomb comes a painted wooden canopic box inscribed for a man called Ketinakht, perhaps one of the original occupants, and three pottery jars with zoomorphic heads painted to imitate alabaster⁵⁸¹ (see Fig. 78).

Fig. 78 Plan of tomb no. 9 cleared by the Earl of Carnarvon and Howard Carter, *GIArch*. Carter Mss. i.J.119 © reproduced here with permission of Griffith Institute, University of Oxford, UK.

The Excavations of Carter and Carnarvon (III) - Tomb C 37

In 1910-11 Carter and Carnarvon turned their attention to the area called el-Birabi. The area investigated was labelled "Site 14" (see Fig. 79). Here Carter and Carnarvon discovered numerous pit-tombs, numbered from 24 to 39, and an unusually large saff tomb, whose long central corridor was given the number 37, containing a considerable number of burials and a large quantity of *rishi* coffins. Today the entire complex with all its different features is commonly known as C 37⁵⁸³ (see Fig. 81).

The dating of the large rock-cut tomb and all the other structures has proved difficult. The burial spaces seem to show at least two phases of use; the first during the late Middle Kingdom and another during the Second Intermediate Period-early 18th dynasty. In his records, Carter noted that most of the pit-tombs contained original

⁵⁷⁷ P. WHELAN, Mere scraps of rough wood? 17th-18th dynasty stick shabtis (2007), p. 13-4.

⁵⁷⁸ N. de Garis DAVIES, *The tomb of Tetaky* (1925), p. 13.

⁵⁷⁹ Earl of CARNARVON, H. CARTER, Five Years' Explorations at Thebes (1912), p. 4, 34.

⁵⁸⁰ A.H. GARDINER, *The defeat of the Hyksos* (1916), p. 95-110, pls. 12-3.

⁵⁸¹ N.C. REEVES, J.H. TAYLOR, *Howard Carter before Tutankhamun* (1992), fig. at p. 91 (above), caption to the image at p. 90.

⁵⁸² PM I², 2, p. 615-7. Earl of CARNARVON, H. CARTER, Five Years' Explorations at Thebes (1912), p. 38, 51.

⁵⁸³ D. ARNOLD, *Grabung im Asasif 1963-1970* (1971), vol. I, p. 42.

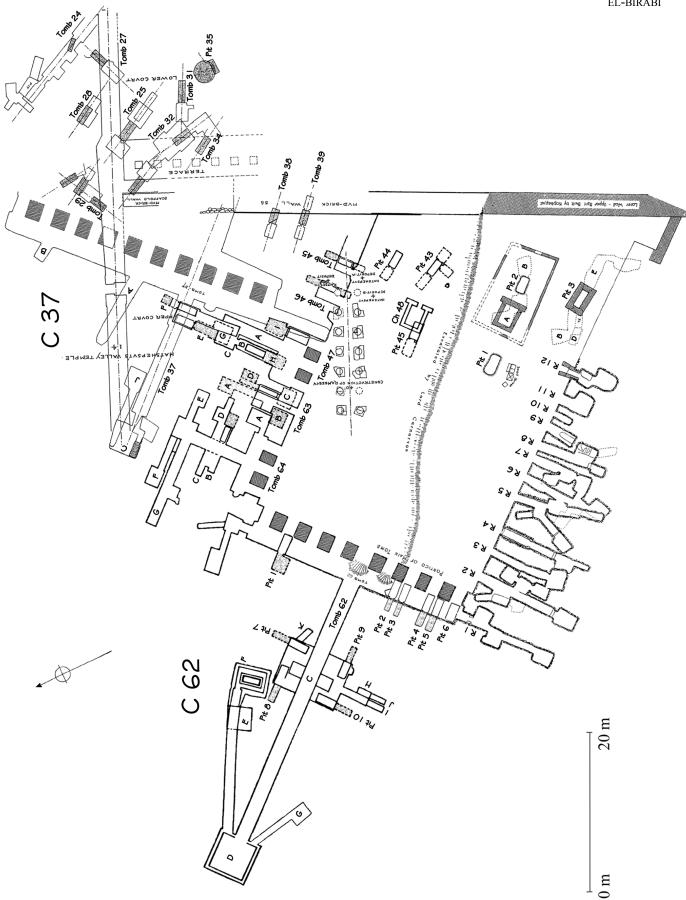


Fig. 79 Plan of tombs C 37 and C 62, after Earl of CARNARVON, H. CARTER, Five Years' Explorations at Thebes (1912), pl. 30; A.M. LYTHGOE, A. LANSING, N. de Garis DAVIES, The Egyptian Expedition 1915-16 (1917), fig. 7; GIArch. Carter Mss. i.G.80; and PM I², 2, pl. vii. Note that in complex C 62 the underground funerary space is indicated with grey shading or with a dotted line; while in complex C 37 the pits of the underground structures have been marked with a darker colour © plan edited by G. Miniaci.



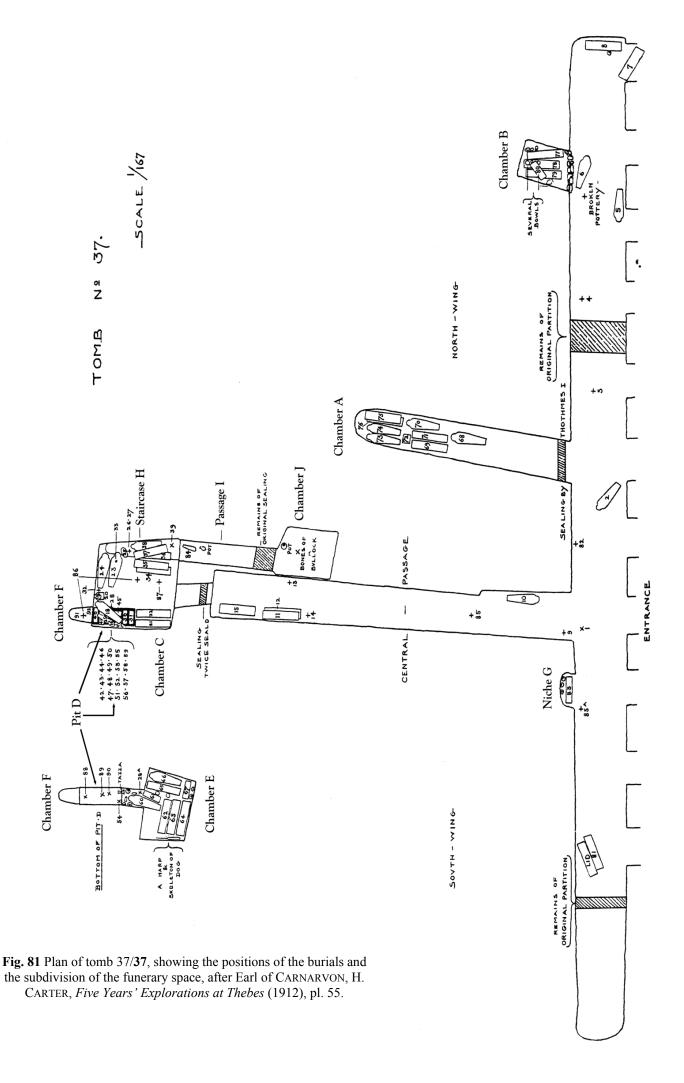
Fig. 80 Two coffins (nos. 37/37.8 and 37/37.7) as found by Carter at the opening of tomb 37, *GIArch*. Carter Mss. i.J.61 © reproduced here with permission of Griffith Institute, University of Oxford, UK.

depositions as well as intrusive interments, which he dated to the time of the Hyksos/Second Intermediate Period until the early 18th dynasty. The frequent traces of plundering found by Carter led him to suppose that the pit-tombs were in use during the (late?) Middle Kingdom and that were subsequently heavily pillaged after their closing. The hypothesis of a second phase of use after a temporary abandonment is strengthened by the archaeological context of tomb 37/32, in which "[the rishi coffin] was found lying on its right side in a space on the floor especially cleared for it". 584 In rock-cut tomb no. 37, the evidence for two phases of use is indicated by the martins' nests and mason-bee cells Carter found adhering to its walls and ceiling.⁵⁸⁵ Moreover, some coffins of the Second Intermediate Period/early 18th dynasty together with their burial equipment were deposited directly above debris and heaps of stones that had fallen down over time and covered the original earlier burials (see Fig. 80). The date when the whole complex stopped functioning may be, instead, defined more precisely, it was effectively sealed by a filling composed of debris and clean limestone chips poured into the court in order to level the ground for the construction of Hatshepsut's causeway and valley temple. Consequently, we are dealing therefore with structures sealed in the reign of Hatshepsut/Tuthmosis III. 586 Carter concluded that the large number of interments derived from reburials by the workers on the Hatshepsut temple complex, a sort of ancient cache, made after they had disturbed or destroyed earlier tombs in the eastern area of Deir el-Bahri during the construction of her causeway and valley temple. However, what seemed to Carter to be evidence of

Earl of CARNARVON, H. CARTER, Five Years' Explorations at Thebes (1912), p. 62, see Cat. rT01CarCa.

⁵⁸⁵ Earl of CARNARVON, H. CARTER, Five Years' Explorations at Thebes (1912), p. 65.

The construction of Hatshepsut's valley temple is dated to the seventh year of the queen's co-regency with Tuthmosis III, see P.F. DORMAN, *The Monuments of Senenmut* (1988), p. 34-5, 39, 43-5.



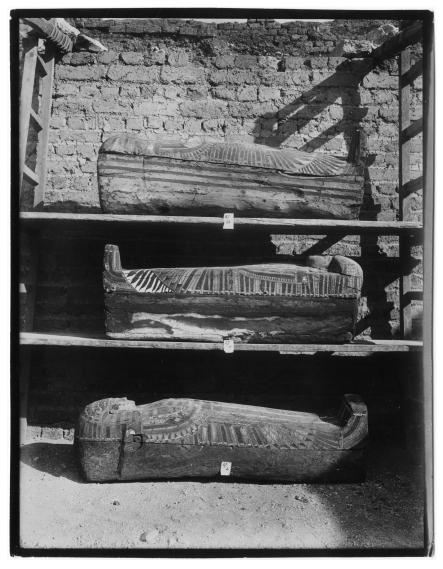


Fig. 82 Three *rishi* coffins found in tomb 37/37 (nos. 37/37.66 = Cat. *r***T13C**; 37/37.11 = Cat. *r***T14C**; 37/37.2 = Cat. *r***T15C**), *GIArch*. Carter Mss. i.J.071 © reproduced with permission of Griffith Institute, University of Oxford, UK. *Cf.* Earl of CARNARVON, H. CARTER, *Five Years' Explorations at Thebes* (1912), pl. LXII.1.

looting and the disturbance by workers, is today considered instead to be the practice of family reuse, or the prolonged use of existing funerary structures from the late Middle Kingdom to the early New kingdom.587 Even the evidence of despoliation recorded by Carter cannot be taken as conclusive proof that there was a period of abandonment, since the continuous use of tombs did not imply necessarily respect for the older burials, as for instance attested by Winlock at Thebes in other contexts.⁵⁸⁸ Therefore, the dating of the tombs seems to extend, with or without interruptions, from the Middle Kingdom to the beginning of the New Kingdom.

The large *saff* tomb numbered **37** by Carter (see Fig. 81) consisted of a long corridor with eight openings (*Entrance*) and a long rock-cut passage (*Central passage*) arranged in the shape of an inverted T. At the end of the passage, through a slightly narrower opening and a doorway, is located a room (C) in which a vertical pit (D) and a staircase (I) give access to three different funerary chambers (F and E, + J). Along the portico are a small chamber (B) and a long blind passage (A), presumably evidence that the original layout was never completed, but altered in time.⁵⁸⁹

The main entrance was closed neither by bricks nor by stones, but unusually was left open, while the three inner chambers were carefully closed, having indeed suffered a series of successive (re)openings and (re)closings, due to the tomb's prolonged

and repeated use. The tomb, indeed, seems to have also been subjected to a period of abandonment at some point, since Carter recorded the presence of martin nests and innumerable mason-bee cells adhering to the walls and the ceiling. However, the date of use of this structure extends from the late Middle Kingdom (?) Hyksos period to the reign of Tuthmosis III. Hyksos

⁵⁸⁷ See P.F. DORMAN, Family burial (2003), p. 30-41, pls. 5-6; S.T. SMITH, Intact Tombs of the Seventeenth and Eighteenth Dynasties (1992), p. 231; D. POLZ, Der Beginn des Neuen Reiches (2007), p. 248; G. MINIACI, S. QUIRKE, Mariette at Dra Abu el-Naga and the tomb of Neferhotep (2008), p. 20-2.

⁵⁸⁸ See *infra* p. 102, and n. 721.

⁵⁸⁹ D. ARNOLD, Grabung im Asasif 1963-1970 (1971), vol. I, p. 42.

⁵⁹⁰ Earl of CARNARVON, H. CARTER, *Five Years' Explorations at Thebes* (1912), p. 65. Unfortunately Carter does not point out the exact parts of the tomb were these nests and cells have been found.

The only finds that Carter attributed to the Middle Kingdom are a broken wooden statuette representing a woman carrying upon her head a linen basket, associated with a rectangular coffin fragment bearing the name of a certain Henyt, and a jewel box containing a bead necklace, an amulet, a blue glazed steatite scarab, a blue glazed steatite kohl pot, a reel of white faience, and a copper fillet for the hair, see Earl of CARNARVON, H. CARTER, *Five Years' Explorations at Thebes* (1912), p. 87 (nos. 86 and 87), pl. LXXIII.87. Moreover, also the writing board stelae found in the chamber *F* could belong to a Middle Kingdom/late Middle Kingdom phase of use of the tomb 37, see G. ROSATI, *Stele-tavolette di Sokar* (2007), p. 39-41.

⁵⁹² Earl of CARNARVON, H. CARTER, *Five Years' Explorations at Thebes* (1912), p. 80 (item no. 53, a scarab bearing the prenomen of Tuthmosis III).

Inside the rooms and passages 7 *rishi* coffins were found (nos. 37/37.2, 37/37.10, 37/37.11, 37/37.12, 37/37.60, 37/37.66, and 37/37.70)⁵⁹³ among a total of 64 coffins, including white anthropoid, plain anthropoid, and "dug-out" types - coffins exceedingly roughly shaped as oblong containers cut from a single tree trunk - as well as plain rectangular and arch-topped rectangular types (see Fig. 82). The funerary equipment with the *rishi* coffins is surprisingly scant.

Three coffins (nos. 37/37.2, 37/37.10, and 37/37.12), found laying in the corridor and in the central passage, contained only roughly wrapped mummies.⁵⁹⁴ Only *rishi* coffin no. 37/37.11,⁵⁹⁵ also found in the central passage, contained the mummy of a woman lying on its back and a small child's mummy resting on her feet. Amongst the debris at the bottom of the coffin were a few small beads of greenish blue faience and a cowroid seal of green glazed steatite.⁵⁹⁶ Their position resting in the open and unsealed space of the passageway is surprising; either they were the latest interment and were simply left in the most convenient spot that did not require the re-opening of inner rooms, or they belonged to an earlier phase in the tomb's use and were moved from their original places to create more space for the new incoming burials.

In chamber *E* only two *rishi* coffins (nos. 37/**37.60** and 37/**37.66**) were stored, ⁵⁹⁷ but again nothing more than a mummy is preserved inside each one. ⁵⁹⁸ Amongst the objects found in the chamber that cannot be assigned to a particular burial, were a harp (see Fig. 83) and the skeleton of a dog. ⁵⁹⁹ However, following the archaeological records of Carter, *rishi* coffin no. 37/**37.60** would be the last to have entered the room, blocking the entrance in the process.

The last *rishi* coffin, no. 37/**37.70** found in chamber A, 600 contained the mummy of a woman lying on its back, a wooden head-rest, a large bronze mirror, and a wig of plaited hair 601 (see Fig. 84). Room B contained no *rishi* coffins at all.

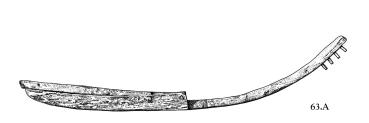


Fig. 83 A wooden harp found in the chamber *E* where two *rishi* coffins were preserved, nos. 37/**37.60** and 37/**37.66**. Drawing by P. Whelan from Earl of CARNARVON, H. CARTER, *Five Years' Explorations at Thebes* (1912), pl. LXXI.63A.

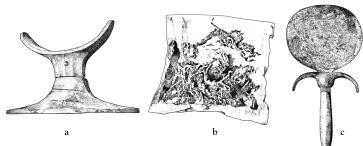


Fig. 84 Objects belonging to the *rishi* coffin no. 37/**37.70**; (a) wooden headrest; (b) wig of plaited hair; (c) bronze mirror. Drawing by P. Whelan from Earl of CARNARVON, H. CARTER, *Five Years' Explorations at Thebes* (1912), pl. LXX.70.

⁵⁹³ No. 37/37.2 = Cat. **rT15C**; no. 37/37.11 = Cat. **rT14C**; and no. 37/37.66 = Cat. **rT13C**. No. 37/37.10 = Cat. **rT04carca**; no. 37/37.12 = Cat. **rT05carca**; no. 37/37.60 = Cat. **rT06carca**; no. 37/37.70 = Cat. **rT03CarCa**. See also PM I₂, 2, p. 616. PM is wrong in recording under the tomb 37 *rishi* coffin JE 43637 which belongs instead to the white type.

⁵⁹⁴ Earl of CARNARVON, H. CARTER, Five Years' Explorations at Thebes (1912), p. 70-1, nos. 2, 10, 12.

⁵⁹⁵ See Cat. *r*T14C

⁵⁹⁶ Earl of CARNARVON, H. CARTER, *Five Years' Explorations at Thebes* (1912), p. 71, no. 11, pls. LVI (coffin), LXXII.11 (cowroid).

⁵⁹⁷ See respectively Cat. *r***T06carca** and Cat. *r***T13**C.

⁵⁹⁸ Earl of CARNARVON, H. CARTER, Five Years' Explorations at Thebes (1912), p. 82-3, nos. 60, 66, pl. LXII.66.

⁵⁹⁹ Earl of CARNARVON, H. CARTER, *Five Years' Explorations at Thebes* (1912), p. 82-3, no. 63 A, pl. LXXI.63A. Note the *rishi* coffin found by Vassalli associated with a harp, see *supra* p. 60.

⁶⁰⁰ See Cat. rT03CarCa.

⁶⁰¹ Earl of CARNARVON, H. CARTER, Five Years' Explorations at Thebes (1912), p. 84, no. 70, pl. LXX.70.

- Pit-tombs in the complex C 37

Some of the pit-tombs which did not contain any *rishi* coffins may be classified as the earliest structures in the complex. In corridor tomb 37/24 (see Fig. 85.a), the funerary spaces contained a variety of burial equipment including a wooden boat model, and figurines of a glazed steatite frog, a faience lion and two faience hippopotami. ⁶⁰² Although the tomb had been disturbed in antiquity, none of the finds seem later than the late Middle Kingdom (see Fig. 86).

Pit-tomb 37/25 comprises a shaft with two facing chambers on opposite sides; the southern one has a narrower extension cut at a lower level for the coffin⁶⁰³ (see Fig. 85.b). The shape of the southern chamber is reminiscent of the broad upper antechamber and narrower lower burial chamber of tombs with single burials, ⁶⁰⁴ but in this tomb Carnarvon's team encountered the debris from multiple burials. ⁶⁰⁵ The only rectangular coffin identifiable in the publication, that of the "great one of the Tens of Upper Egypt" Renseneb, was moved to the bottom of the shaft while still intact, crushing other material in the tomb; as Carter noted, in contrast to other bodies described as "despoiled", this seems not to have been due to robbery, because precious items were lying intact on the body. ⁶⁰⁶ However, the type of the coffin, black with yellow bands of incomplete hieroglyphic inscriptions, the reference to king Amenemhat IV on a cosmetic box found crushed beneath the coffin and funerary equipment, make this assemblage typical of the late Middle Kingdom. ⁶⁰⁷ From the design with its narrow recess in south chamber, Renseneb might have been the intended original single occupant of the double chamber shaft tomb. However, it is also possible that the northern chamber was cut at the same time or later for additional burials; how those came to be robbed, and the dislodged coffin of Renseneb overlooked, remains a mystery. ⁶⁰⁸

Pit-tomb 37/27 was almost entirely pillaged and destroyed (see Fig. 85.c). Here Carter found a portion of a *rishi* coffin with the face gilt belonging to the "accountant of the army" §s n m§c, "overseer of the temple" *imy-r liwt* Nenen[...]⁶⁰⁹ showing incomplete hieroglyphic inscriptions, as well as an ear from a silver mask, a fragment from a stela (other pieces of the same stela were found in the pit-tomb 37/31), and a single pot, the only one found in the tomb.⁶¹⁰

In the second chamber of pit-tomb 37/32 (see Fig. 85.d) Carter found another *rishi* coffin, this time curiously lying on its side and bound at the head and foot with palm fibre cords. It was set down in a space especially cleared for it on the floor.⁶¹¹ These features may suggest both a re-use of the tomb and of the coffin. Although the coffin appeared perfectly preserved, it soon fell to pieces because the wood was rotten having been completely eaten by the white ants.⁶¹²

The remaining pit-tombs have no peculiar features by which they can be even approximately dated. Most are distinguished by evident signs of despoliation (*cf.* tombs nos. 37/29 and 37/31).⁶¹³

⁶⁰² Earl of CARNARVON, H. CARTER, *Five Years' Explorations at Thebes* (1912), p. 51-2. Compare the two wooden statuettes found inside tomb no. 24 with those found inside the coffin of Montuhotep, G. STEINDORFF, *Das Grab des Mentuhotep* (1896), p. 31, pl. 11.

⁶⁰³ Earl of CARNARVON, H. CARTER, *Five Years' Explorations at Thebes* (1912), pl. 30; from the plan the northern chamber seems about 2 m x 3 m, while the recess in the southern chamber appears to be 1 m x 2 m. Compare the structure of K 01.8 which also has two opposite chambers at the end of a shaft, in D. POLZ, *Der Beginn des Neuen Reiches* (2007), p. 237-9, fig. 60.

⁶⁰⁴ See G. MINIACI, S. QUIRKE, Reconceiving the Tomb in the Late Middle Kingdom (2009), p. 362-7.

⁶⁰⁵ Earl of CARNARVON, H. CARTER, Five Years' Explorations at Thebes (1912), p. 54-5.

⁶⁰⁶ Earl of CARNARVON, H. CARTER, *Five Years' Explorations at Thebes* (1912), p. 55, and see *supra* p. 10 for contents. For a later example of relocations within a tomb, compare the sequential re-use of queen Ahmes Merytamun's tomb found by Winlock at Deir el-Bahri, see M. BETRÒ, *La regina ahmoside Ahmes-Meritamon* (2007), p. 66, for a discussion of the finds in the protective well, H.E. WINLOCK, *The tomb of queen Meryet-Amun* (1932), p. 23, 40-1.

⁶⁰⁷ See *supra* p. 10.

⁶⁰⁸ A mud sealing with coil pattern was found in the lower layer of dust just covering the floor of the northern chamber; the motif is typical of the late Middle Kingdom, but the well attested reuse of seals prevents any firm conclusion as to the date of this find, *cf.* M. BIETAK, *Seal impressions from the Middle to the New Kingdom* (2004), especially p. 54.

⁶⁰⁹ See Cat. *r***T07carca**.

⁶¹⁰ Earl of CARNARVON, H. CARTER, Five Years' Explorations at Thebes (1912), p. 61.

⁶¹¹ See *supra* p. 86, n. 584.

⁶¹² Earl of CARNARVON, H. CARTER, Five Years' Explorations at Thebes (1912), p. 62. See Cat. rT01CarCa.

⁶¹³ Earl of CARNARVON, H. CARTER, Five Years' Explorations at Thebes (1912), p. 61-2.

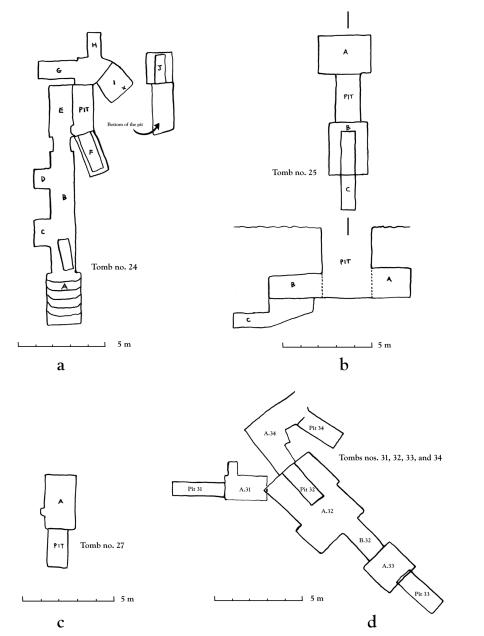
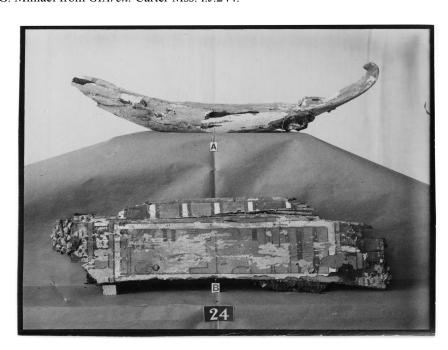


Fig. 85 Plans of tombs (a) 37/24, (b) 37/25 [plan and section] (c) 37/27, (d) 37/31, 37/32, 37/33, and 37/34. Drawing by G. Miniaci from *GIArch*. Carter Mss. i.J.244.

Fig. 86 Two finds from tomb 37/24; (A) the greater part of a wooden model boat; (B) a rectangular coffin board inscribed for a man called Khety, *GIArch*. Carter Mss i.J.233 © reproduced here with permission of Griffith Institute, University of Oxford, UK. *Cf.* Earl of CARNARVON, H. CARTER, *Five Years' Explorations at Thebes* (1912), p. 51-2, nos. 2, 6.



The Excavations of Carter and Carnarvon (IV) - Tomb C 62

At the end of the 1911 season, Carter and Carnarvon discovered south of the C 37 complex the retaining wall of another large *saff* tomb courtyard they labelled number 41.⁶¹⁴ In the following seasons of 1911-12 and 1913-14 this structure and the pit-tombs sunk in its courtyard were closely investigated. Excavations were carried out only in the northern and western parts of the complex, leaving the southern side unexplored. This part was subsequently cleared in 1915-16 by the Metropolitan Museum Egyptian Expedition under the direction of Ambrose Lansing (see Fig. 87).

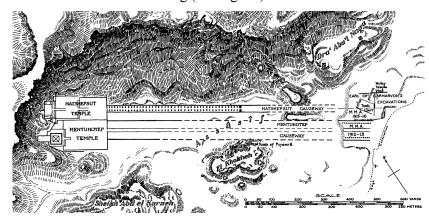


Fig. 87 Map of Deir el-Bahri, Asasif and Dra Abu el-Naga south, with the location of the Metropolitan Museum of Art and Earl of Carnarvon excavations, from A.M. LYTHGOE, A. LANSING, N. de Garis DAVIES, *The Egyptian Expedition 1915-16* (1917), fig. 1.

The section investigated by the American mission is usually referred to as "MMA 5 tomb". Sometimes, the whole complex is identified as "tomb 62", being the number given by Carter to the long central corridor that corresponds to the main funerary space. This different numbering system creates a degree of confusion. More correctly, this tomb should be referred to as the 62/41(courtyard)/MMA 5, however to make things simpler we can call the whole complex C 62 and indicate the single spaces/tombs with the numbers assigned them by Carter and Lansing.

The archaeological results issued in this area have been only partially published by Lansing in the *BMMA*,⁶¹⁵ while Carter, unable to produce a full publication of his records, turned them over to Lansing, and they are now stored

in the MMA archive. Some short notes about C 62 gleaned from unpublished Carter manuscripts can be found in articles by Alan Gardiner⁶¹⁶ and Christine Lilyquist.⁶¹⁷

This group, like complex C 37, was sealed by the same filling, composed of debris and clean limestone chips poured into their court in order to level the ground for the construction of Hatshepsut's causeway and valley temple. Consequently, we are dealing again with intact burials from the reign of Hatshepsut/Tuthmosis III.

Saff tomb 62/62, comprising numerous passages, offerings halls, pits, and burial chambers (see Fig. 79), belongs to a certain official or noble called Antef. His original burial was completely ransacked, but the limestone sarcophagus still lay on the floor of the funerary chamber with its limestone lining and fragments of an inner rectangular wooden coffin inscribed with yellow bands of hieroglyphs.⁶¹⁸ The scant remains of his burial equipment suggest a dating to around the late Middle Kingdom. The various funerary spaces of tomb 62 contained several *rishi* coffins,⁶¹⁹ although the majority were dug-out coffin types; most of them were very decayed and of poor manufacture.⁶²⁰

In the pit-tombs (Pits 1-6) cut between the portico and the façade of the tomb 62/62 (see Fig. 101) were found numerous *rishi* burials. In the pit 62/**62.P1**, Carter found a *rishi* burial lying upon its side, ⁶²¹ while beside it there were a royal wooden headrest, ⁶²² as well as in the pit 62/**62.P3** a woman was buried in a *rishi* coffin ⁶²³ but without any object. ⁶²⁴ In the pits 62/**62.P7** and 62/**62.P8**, which are located inside the funerary space of the tomb 62, other *rishi* coffins were found, but already very decayed at that time. ⁶²⁵

⁶¹⁴ Earl of CARNARVON, H. CARTER, Five Years' Explorations at Thebes (1912), p. 88.

⁶¹⁵ A.M. LYTHGOE, A. LANSING, N. de Garis DAVIES, The Egyptian Expedition 1915-16 (1917), p. 3-31.

⁶¹⁶ A.H. GARDINER, The tomb of a much-travelled Theban official (1917), p. 28-38.

⁶¹⁷ C. LILYQUIST, A Foreign Vase Representation (1997), p. 309.

⁶¹⁸ MMAArch. Carter Mss. p. 8.

⁶¹⁹ See for instance chambers H, I, J, K.

⁶²⁰ MMAArch. Carter Mss. p. 8-11.

⁶²¹ See Cat. rT09carca.

⁶²² MMAArch. Carter Mss. p. 9.

⁶²³ See Cat. rT10carca.

⁶²⁴ MMAArch. Carter Mss. p. 9.

⁶²⁵ MMAArch. Carter Mss. p. 9.

Carter assigned numbers from 42 to 65 to the subsidiary rock-cut tomb openings in the courtyard sides, and to the pit-tombs and chapels hewn and built in the courtyard, all of which were located in the north-western part of the C 62 complex (see Fig. 79). The subsidiary structures located in the southern part of the complex and investigated by Metropolitan Museum of Art were numbered from R1 to R12.

In tomb no. 62/45 three types of coffins, *rishi*, decorated rectangular and dug-out, were roughly stacked one upon the other. Most of them belonged to the *rishi* type. The *rishi* coffin bearing the number 62/45.6 contained the mummy of a man and also a scribal palette and two writing tablets.⁶²⁶ Its position and the number given to it by Carter, as sixth of seven burials, points to it being one of the last recorded and consequently one of the earliest to have entered the tomb.⁶²⁷

Tomb no. 62/46 preserved only three *rishi* coffins and the remains of what Carter interpreted as the original contents from an older burial⁶²⁸ (see Fig. 88). *Rishi* coffin no. 62/46.1 contained the mummy of a woman,⁶²⁹ two pairs of clappers lying under the shoulders, a small round basket with two scarabs inside near the head, an alabaster kohl pot, and some dom-palm nuts. One of the clappers is inscribed with the name of the "princess" *rtt-p^ct*, "king's daughter" *s3t nswt* Nensemekhtuf⁶³⁰ who could be the original owner of the coffin (see Fig. 90). *Rishi* coffin no. 62/46.2 contained only a throw-stick with the mummy of a man;⁶³¹ while the third *rishi* coffin, no. 62/46.3, was inscribed for the "lady of the house" Reri⁶³² and included the mummy of a woman, a bronze

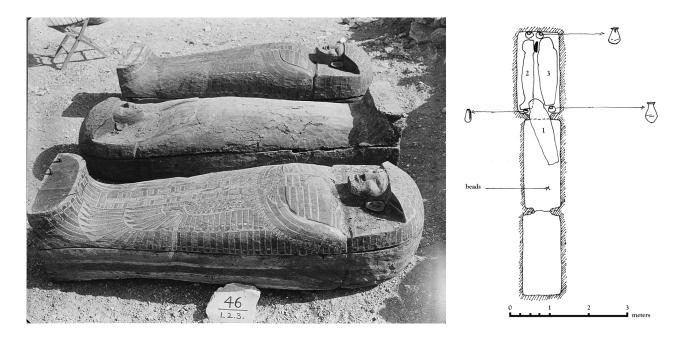


Fig. 88 On the left the *rishi* coffins from tomb 62/46 as photographed by Carter during the archaeological season at el-Birabi, from the bottom to the top, the coffin 62/46.1= *r*T05NY, 62/46.2=*r*T12carca, and 62/46.3= *r*T04NY, from *GIArch*. Carter Mss. i.J.15 © reproduced here with permission of Griffith Institute, University of Oxford, UK. On the right plan of the funerary chambers of tomb 62/46, from *MMAArch*. Carter Mss. pl. V. Drawing by G. Miniaci.

⁶²⁶ See Cat. rT11carca.

⁶²⁷ MMAArch. Carter Mss. p. 3.

⁶²⁸ MMAArch. Carter Mss. p. 3-4.

⁶²⁹ See Cat. rT05NY. GIArch. Carter Mss. i.J.15.

⁶³⁰ MMAArch. Carter Mss. p. 4, pl. XXIII.46.1 (clappers), XXVIII.46.1 (scarabs). PM I², 2, p. 617. For the inscribed clapper (CG 69247), see H. HICKMANN, *Instruments de musique* (1949), p. 22, pl. viii [B], with a wrong provenance "Deir el-Medina".

⁶³¹ MMAArch. Carter Mss. p. 4. See Cat. rT12carca.

⁶³² See Cat. rT04NY.

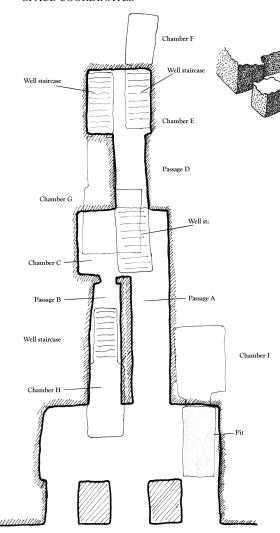


Fig. 89 Plan and 3D reconstruction of tomb 62/47 from *MMAArch*. Carter. Drawings by P. Whelan (3D)/G. Miniaci (plan).

chamber E

razor inscribed for the "estate overseer" (?) Sobeknakht⁶³³ (see Fig. 91), an alabaster kohl pot, some pieces of heavy quartzite, and two scarabs.⁶³⁴

The rock-cut tombs investigated by Carter and Carnarvon along the north-eastern side contained an astonishing number of rishi coffins. Tomb 62/47 consists of a short corridor with two pillars in the façade (Vestibule) and two parallel passages (A and B) running off perpendicularly. A pit with an underground chamber off shaft (I) is located at the end southern part of the vestibule. Passages A and B, the latter having an underground chamber (H) opening off a passageway through a staircase, both lead to a communal wide hall (C) where a descending staircase and passage gives access to a lower chamber (E). Below this chamber two more burial chambers (F and G) are accessible by means of two staircases (see Fig. 89).

The whole tomb contained 10 *rishi* coffins (nos. 62/4**7.10**, 62/4**7.16**, 62/4**7.17**, 62/4**7.22**, 62/4**7.25**, 62/4**7.29**, 62/4**7.30**,

62/47.33, 62/47.37, and $62/47.38)^{635}$ amongst about 38 well preserved coffins, including semi-decorated anthropoid, "dug-out", plain rectangular, and decorated rectangular coffins. Only one white anthropoid coffin belonging to a man called Rensenebu was found in the whole tomb, hinting that the white type was not yet widespread at that time. The coffins, in many cases, were piled on top of each other in the rooms, sometimes creating, as in the chamber G, two layers of overlapping coffins. The *rishi* coffin funerary equipment was quite scant, in some cases absent, but no. $62/47.10^{637}$ was provided with a toilet box of rough workmanship whose contents included a black pottery vase, an alabaster kohl pot, a cedar-wood comb, a blue glazed steatite scarab and cylinder. Indeed, in chamber H, where *rishi* coffin no. 62/47.33 laid, 639 a wooden stool, toilet box, and

⁶³³ PM I², 2, p. 617; GIArch. Carter Mss. i.J.16.

⁶³⁴ *MMAArch*. Carter Mss. p. 4, pls. XXV.46.3 (razor), XXVIII.46.3 (scarabs). One of the scarab has continuous oblong scrolls motif and two columns of hieroglyphic signs arranged symmetrically, a type attested on a handful of examples in the Egyptian/Nubian series. More numerous examples are in the Palestinian series and from Tell el-Daba, see D. BEN-TOR, *Scarabs, Chronology, and Interconnections* (2007), p. 91-3. The other scarab depicts a horned animal whose background is decorated with cross hatching is rarely attested in the late Middle Kingdom but is largely attested in Palestinian series, *cf.* D. BEN-TOR, *Scarabs, Chronology, and Interconnections* (2007), p. 175, pl. 96, nos. 12, 23.

⁶³⁵ Coffin no. 62/47.37 = Cat. **rT06C**; no. 62/47.38 = Cat. **rT07C**; no. 62/47.17 = Cat. **rT06NY**. The other coffins: no. 62/47.10 = Cat. **rT13carca**; no. 62/47.16 = Cat. **rT14carca**; no. 62/47.22 = Cat. **rT15carca**; no. 62/47.25 = Cat. **rT16carca**; no. 62/47.30 = Cat. **rT18carca**; no. 62/47.33 = Cat. **rT19carca**.

⁶³⁶ MMAArch. Carter Mss. p. 5, coffin no. 47/23. Cf. Earl of CARNARVON, H. CARTER, Five Years' Explorations at Thebes (1912), p. 85, burial no. 74, coffin at pl. LXIII, no. 37/74.

⁶³⁷ See Cat. rT13carca.

⁶³⁸ MMAArch. Carter Mss. p. 5. The cylinder which shows a design of concentric circles arranged in a spiral motif is almost absent from the late Middle Kingdom context but attested on scarabs and cowroids of Palestinian and Egyptian Second Intermediate Period series, *cf.* D. BEN-TOR, *Scarabs, Chronology, and Interconnections* (2007), p. 87-8.
639 See Cat. **rT19carca**.





Fig. 90 (left) A pair of clappers found in rishi coffin no. 62/46.1 (Cat. rT05NY), CG 69247 © reproduction courtesy of the Egyptian Museum Cairo. Photo by G. Miniaci.

Fig. 91 (right) Bronze razor inscribed for the steward Sobekhnakht found in the rishi coffin of the "lady of the house" Reri, no. 62/46.3 (Cat. rT04NY), GIArch. Carter Mss. i.J.11 © reproduced here with permission of Griffith Institute, University of Oxford, UK.

an oval basket were assembled together; however, these objects might not have belonged to the rishi burial but with other coffins lying in the room, including one decorated rectangular example containing two mummies

and one plain rectangular coffin.⁶⁴⁰ In chamber G four rishi coffins were recorded by the excavators; no. 62/47.17 belonged to the "royal ornament" hkrt

nswt Teti and bore upon the third left hand finger of the mummy a rectangular





Fig. 93 Plaque inscribed with the name of king Ahmose, drawing from C.H. ROEHRIG, R. DREYFUS, C.A. KELLER, (eds.), Hatshepsut (2005), p. 208-9, fig. 128a.

[sic] blue faience scarab, 641 which contains either the prenomen of king Apepi, Nebkhepeshre, 642 or the prenomen of king Ahmose, Nebpehetyre⁶⁴³ (see Fig. 92). A round basket in the same chamber contained amongst other items a blue glazed steatite plaque bearing the cartouche of king Ahmose⁶⁴⁴ (see Fig. 93). Indeed, the rishi coffins of the



Fig. 92 Blue faience scarab, drawing from W.C. HAYES, The Scepter of Egypt (1959), vol. II, p. 5, fig. 1.

"accountant of the treasurer" sš n imy-r htmt Amenhotep (no. 62/47.37) and the "king's son" s3 nswt Renseneb (no. 62/47.38) were laying in the same underground chamber (I) cut beneath the corridor façade.⁶⁴⁵ The room accommodated only these two interments (see Fig. 140).

⁶⁴⁰ MMAArch. Carter Mss. p. 6.

⁶⁴¹ MMAArch. Carter Mss. p. 5-6, pl. XXVIII.47.17. See Cat. rT06NY.

⁶⁴² The prenomen of Apepi is attested on a vessel fragment from Tell el-Yahudiya, see C. LILYQUIST, Egyptian Stone Vessels (1995), p. 47 [B], figs. 124-6; I. HEIN (ed.), Pharaonen und Fremde (1994), p. 149, no. 123. See also the dagger found in the coffin of Aabed at Saqqara inscribed with the prenomen of king Apepi, I. HEIN (ed.), Pharaonen und Fremde (1994), p. 155, no. 132.

The lower sign seems more likely to correspond to a rough lion head sign.

⁶⁴⁴ MMAArch. Carter Mss. pl. XXVIII.47.13. The plaque is published in C.H. ROEHRIG, R. DREYFUS, C.A. KELLER, (eds.), Hatshepsut (2005), p. 208-9, fig. 128a.

⁶⁴⁵ MMAArch. Carter Mss. p. 6. See Cat. rT06C (no. 62/47.37) and rT07C (no. 62/47.38). H.E. WINLOCK, The tombs of the kings of the seventeenth dynasty (1924), p. 219, n. 1 quotes a rishi coffin of a king's son Renseneb coming from Lansing's excavations at the Asasif; in fact it was found by Carter and Carnarvon.

Rock-cut tomb no. 62/63 included two *rishi* coffins deserving special mention, one belonging to a man and containing a walking staff broken into three

Fig. 94 Sceptre belonging to *rishi* coffin no. 62/**64.8**, from *MMAArch*. Carter Mss. pl. XXIV.2. Drawing by G. Miniaci.

pieces⁶⁴⁶ and another, of fine workmanship and with gilded eyes,⁶⁴⁷ containing the mummies of a woman and a very young child. In the same chamber lying on the floor was a wooden headrest. 648 Corridor tomb no. 62/64 cut into the northern side of the courtyard comprises a saff facade with three openings, a central passage, a wide hall, a pit-chamber and seven underground burial chambers. Here the coffins were stacked in an exceedingly rough manner; among them about six belonged to the *rishi* type. Their equipment was richer than the previously described examples. *Rishi* coffin no. 62/64.7 contained a male mummy, 649 an alabaster vase with ivory lid, a grey pottery saucer, an alabaster kohl pot, a small blue glazed steatite hedgehog seal, a number of pottery vases; 650 rishi coffin no. 62/64.8 contained the mummy of a man. 651 while beside it was part of a sceptre made of wood with a bronze binding⁶⁵² (see Fig. 94); rishi coffin no. 62/64.12 contained a female mummy, ⁶⁵³ a wooden comb, an ivory hair pin, and a small blue glazed steatite cowroid bead.⁶⁵⁴ In the same tomb were found the only rishi coffin known with painted scenes on the side walls of the case, no. 62/64.10, which contained the mummy of a woman⁶⁵⁵ and rishi coffin, no. 62/64.15, showing a transitional design with transversal undecorated bands which belonged to the lady Tawy. 656 Carter's numbering system places the coffin of Tawy lower in the sequence of the burials recorded and should, therefore, represent an earlier interment in the tomb. Inside the same tomb were two white anthropoid coffins, one bearing the name Ahmes (coffin no. 62/64.9),657 and the other bearing the name Ahhotep (coffin no. 62/64.13).658

Tomb 62/65, which belongs to the "overseer of the quarry-work"⁶⁵⁹ *imy-r &* Akhthoy, was situated above tomb 62/62, cut into the roof. In a handwritten note Carter records the presence of "*broken remains of intrusive burials of rishi type*".⁶⁶⁰

A similar series of subsidiary tombs were cut into the southern side of the courtyard, forming a counterpart to the northern ones (see Fig. 95). However, their architecture is slightly different; while the northern tombs present an articulated structure with pillared entrance, wide internal halls and a distribution of underground chambers at various depths, the southern tombs have simpler architecture with single straight corridors ending with a chamber, occasionally with pits and underground chambers. ⁶⁶¹ The different architectural features might relate to different chronological phases.

The southern tombs show a wide and continued use similar to their northern counterparts; some of the burials were simply lying on top of debris fallen from the ceiling which had covered and destroyed the earlier interments, reinforcing the impression of prolonged and repeated use over a long period of time. The general arrangement of the burial equipment was no different to that seen before. It was usually confined to personal adornments and a reduced range of daily life objects. Generally the coffins contained alabaster or wooden kohl pots, baskets of brushwork, bronze mirrors, bronze razors and tweezers, bead necklaces, strings of faience,

⁶⁴⁶ See Cat. rT20carca.

⁶⁴⁷ See Cat. rT21carca.

⁶⁴⁸ MMAArch. Carter Mss. p. 11. See also supra n. 325.

⁶⁴⁹ See Cat. rT22carca.

⁶⁵⁰ MMAArch. Carter Mss. p. 13, pl. XXIX.64.10 (seal).

⁶⁵¹ See Cat. rT23carca.

⁶⁵² MMAArch. Carter Mss. p. 13.

⁶⁵³ See Cat. rT24carca.

⁶⁵⁴ MMAArch. Carter Mss. p. 13, pl. XXIX.64.19 (seal).

⁶⁵⁵ MMAArch. Carter Mss. p. 13. See Cat. rT07NY (Carter's coffin no. 62/64.10).

⁶⁵⁶ MMAArch. Carter Mss. p. 13. See Cat. rT05BM (Carter's coffin no. 62/64.15).

⁶⁵⁷ The name was written with the upward pointing moon sign.

The name was written with the downward pointing moon sign, as frequently attested from year 22 onwards of Ahmose reign C. VANDERSLEYEN, *Les guerres d'Amosis* (1971), p. 205-27, 228 (schema).

⁶⁵⁹ W.A. WARD, *Index* (1982), p. 47, no. 369a.

⁶⁶⁰ GIArch. Carter Mss. i.J.290.15. See also A.H. GARDINER, *The tomb of a much-travelled Theban official* (1917), p. 31-2.

⁶⁶¹ A.M. LYTHGOE, A. LANSING, N. de Garis DAVIES, The Egyptian Expedition 1915-16 (1917), p. 12, fig. 7.

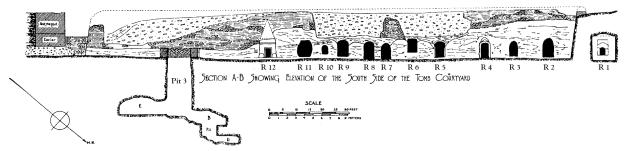


Fig. 95 Section of the southern part of complex C 62 excavated by the Metropolitan Museum of Art Expedition in 1915-1916. The section shows a row of subsidiary tombs hewn in the southern side of the courtyard and the deposit formed by clean limestone and sand dumped above the whole complex at the time of Hatshepsut, after A.M. LYTHGOE, A. LANSING, N. de Garis DAVIES, *The Egyptian Expedition 1915-16* (1917), fig. 7.

shell, carnelian or silver bracelets and earrings, and a number of scarabs, usually fixed upon the third finger of the left hand.⁶⁶²

Tomb 62/R2 contained more than 32 burials and its entrance showed traces of four successive blockings each

removed to permit further burials being placed within the tomb. 663 Here, within a *rishi* coffin, 62/**R2.E.3**, 664 was found the mummy of a woman, a harp, a horn with the end fashioned into a spoon, 665 and two throw-sticks. 666 None of the *rishi* coffins found in this tomb show any of the later typological features. 667

In tomb 62/**R3** the excavators recorded only two *rishi* coffins lying on top of the debris, one of which is decorated with a chequerboard pattern in the fourth register and along the vertical band usually reserved for the inscription.⁶⁶⁸

Inside tomb 62/**R4**, in the last chamber at the end of the passage, were found at least three *rishi* coffins.⁶⁶⁹ On one of them, coffin no. 62/**R4.C.2**,⁶⁷⁰ along the long side walls of the case, was an unusual pattern composed of alternating coupled *dd*-pillar and *tit*-knot signs.⁶⁷¹ Moreover, still standing near the foot end of the coffin was a small wooden statuette of a female offering bearer,⁶⁷² however this could have belonged to a previous burial occupying the chamber.

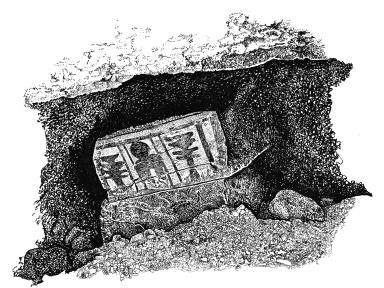


Fig. 96 *Rishi* coffin Cat. *r***T08NY** as found in the tomb 62/R9. Drawing by P. Whelan from MMA photo 5A, 442.

The *rishi* coffin found in tomb 62/**R9**, being one of the best preserved examples found in these secondary tombs, bore a decoration combining <u>d</u>d-pillars and a small *tit*-knot on the base under the feet⁶⁷³ (see Fig. 96). From the same tomb comes an end board of a Middle

⁶⁶² A.M. LYTHGOE, A. LANSING, N. de Garis DAVIES, The Egyptian Expedition 1915-16 (1917), p. 18-20.

⁶⁶³ A.M. LYTHGOE, A. LANSING, N. de Garis DAVIES, The Egyptian Expedition 1915-16 (1917), p. 13.

⁶⁶⁴ See Cat. rT04MMA.

⁶⁶⁵ See C.H. ROEHRIG, *The burial of a royal woman* (2005), p. 17, no. 2, fig. 6. Compare with W.M.F. PETRIE, *Qurneh* (1909), pl. 25 and M.B. BRUYÈRE, *Les fouilles de Deir el-Médineh* (1934-1935) (1937), p. 85, two similar horn containers coming from *rishi* burials.

⁶⁶⁶ A.M. LYTHGOE, A. LANSING, N. de Garis DAVIES, The Egyptian Expedition 1915-16 (1917), p. 20.

⁶⁶⁷ See MMA photos 5A, 205-6; 5A, 222; 5A, 232; 5A, 332; 5A, 453; 5A, 581; 5A, 671. See Cat. **rT01MMA**, **rT02MMA**, **rT03MMA**, **rT04MMA**, **rT05MMA**, **rT06MMA**, **rT07MMA**.

⁶⁶⁸ See MMA photos 5A, 246; 5A, 255 (during excavation). See Cat. *r*T08MMA, *r*T09MMA (coffin with the chequerboard pattern).

⁶⁶⁹ See Cat. rT10MMA, rT11MMA.

⁶⁷⁰ See Cat. **rT11MMA**.

⁶⁷¹ See MMA photo 5A, 555.

⁶⁷² See MMA photo 5A, 284.

⁶⁷³ See Cat. **rT08NY**. A.M. LYTHGOE, A. LANSING, N. de Garis DAVIES, *The Egyptian Expedition 1915-16* (1917), fig. 10. See MMA photo 5A, 442. PM I², 2, p. 618.

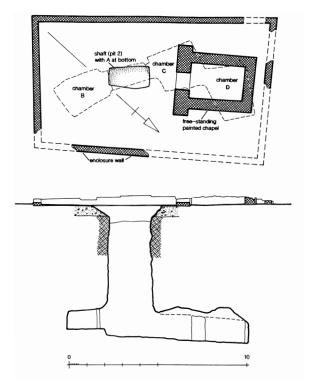


Fig. 97 Plan and section of tomb 62/P2, from C. LILYQUIST, *A foreign vase representation* (1997), fig. 3.

Kingdom rectangular coffin inscribed for Wahemmontu⁶⁷⁴ which belonged to the rectangular type.⁶⁷⁵

- Pit-tombs in the complex C 62

Some pit-tombs had been dug in the courtyard of the C 62 complex. The MMA mission numbered those included in its concession with the labels P1 to P3, while Carter and Carnarvon preferred the existing numeric sequence, labelling them as pit-tomb numbers 43, 44, and 45, which were later re-numbered as P4, P5, and P6. Since Carter had already used numbers 1 to 6 for other pits in the western façade (see Fig. 79), I prefer to maintain his original numbering system here.

Pit no. 62/**P1**, which had no chambers at the bottom of the shaft, contained some very decayed coffins. The point of interest here is the presence in the upper level of the remains of an anthropoid coffin decorated with inscribed horizontal bands, possibly belonging to the white anthropoid type,⁶⁷⁶ while in a lower level was a very decayed *rishi* (?) coffin incorporating the coupled <u>d</u>d-pillar and *tit*-knot decoration.⁶⁷⁷

Pit-tomb no. 62/**P2**, lying under a painted freestanding chapel,⁶⁷⁸ consists of two opposite chambers at the bottom of the shaft; the northern one seems to be composed of two chambers, probably as a result of a later enlargement of the previous layout⁶⁷⁹ (see Fig. 97). The southern chamber was blocked by a smooth coat of plaster impressed with an oval seal.⁶⁸⁰ Inside this room was a rectangular coffin flanked by two anthropoid ones.⁶⁸¹ The coffins were very decayed but from the MMA photographic archive none seems to

belong to the *rishi* type. The entrance to the northern chambers was also blocked but had a hole in the smooth surface.⁶⁸² In the innermost chamber (*D*) one empty decorated rectangular coffin was found and three badly preserved *rishi* coffins.⁶⁸³ One of these, though uninscribed, is known to have belonged to the "overseer" (?)⁶⁸⁴ Khay, coffin no. 62/**P2.D.3**,⁶⁸⁵ on account of an unfinished finely cut green jasper heart scarab inscribed with the name and the title of the owner which was found inside together with an axe with well preserved handle, a knife, a wooden headrest, and some toilet articles.⁶⁸⁶ Found in the outermost chamber (*C*) was a scarab depicted with a winged cartouche of king Tuthmosis III.⁶⁸⁷ In this chamber the stack of coffins changes significantly; of around four burials only one belongs to the *rishi* type, which is decorated with horizontal bands inscribed with the *dd mdw*-formula.⁶⁸⁸ The discovery of the scarab in the first of the outermost rooms provides a *terminus*

⁶⁷⁴ Perhaps to read "reporter" whmw Montu.

⁶⁷⁵ PM I², 2, p. 618. See MMA photo 5A, 324.

⁶⁷⁶ MMA photo 5A, 358.

⁶⁷⁷ See Cat. rT14MMA. MMA photo 5A, 345 (feathers around the head); 5A 355 (dd-pillar and tit-knot).

⁶⁷⁸ See C. LILYQUIST, A Foreign Vase Representation (1997), p. 313-29.

⁶⁷⁹ Cf. D. POLZ, Bericht über die 2. und 3. Grabungskampagne (1993), p. 231-2, fig. 3.

⁶⁸⁰ C. LILYQUIST, A Foreign Vase Representation (1997), p. 329. Lilyquist reads on the seal "htpt ntr Tmn", see n. 61 at p. 329.

⁶⁸¹ MMA photo 5A, 361.

⁶⁸² C. LILYQUIST, A Foreign Vase Representation (1997), p. 329.

⁶⁸³ See Cat. rT15MMA, rT16MMA, rT17MMA.

The title is strange, but as pointed out by Lilyquist, the scarab on which the title of Khay is inscribed seems to be have been left unfinished, see C. LILYQUIST, *A Foreign Vase Representation* (1997), p. 342.

⁶⁸⁵ See Cat. **rT16MMA**.

⁶⁸⁶ PM I², 2, p. 617. MMA photos 5A, 376-7, 5A, 378 (equipment during excavation), and A.M. LYTHGOE, A. LANSING, N. de Garis DAVIES, *The Egyptian Expedition 1915-16* (1917), p. 20.

⁶⁸⁷ C. LILYQUIST, A Foreign Vase Representation (1997), n. 10 at p. 308.

⁶⁸⁸ MMA photo 5A, 367. See Cat. *r*T18MMA.

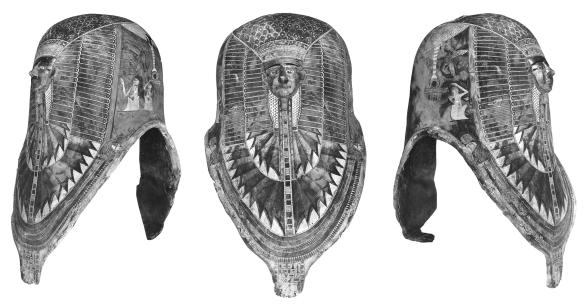


Fig. 98 Frontal and side view of the *rishi* mask found in the tomb 62/P3 (JE 45629, Egyptian Museum - Cairo), MMA photos 5A, 167, 5A 166, 5A 168 © Metropolitan Museum of Art, New York.

ante quem for the burial stored inside the innermost chamber, since they could not have been brought into the room when the first chamber was crowded with burials.

Pit-tomb no. 62/P3 consists of two opposite chambers at the bottom of the shaft. Lacking any firmly datable material, the archaeological records can, nevertheless, give some chronological hints. In the south-western corner of the western chamber (*B*) a small pit was cut into the floor giving access to a lower funerary chamber (*D*).

Within the chamber *B* in a coffin, which was very decayed and partly broken, were found a *rishi* mask, a massive bronze mirror with handle, a set of toilet vases (two in white pottery decorated black and red, four in alabaster of excellent quality and one of green serpentine), an ivory toilet dish with its lid decorated with a geometrical pattern, and a tapering glass hairpin decorated with a rosette on the top.⁶⁸⁹

During the last phase of use of the structure an anthropoid $coffin^{690}$ was placed in the south-eastern angle of chamber B with its feet lying above the mouth of the small pit. When discovered, the foot end of this coffin was broken off and had fallen into the pit, leaving the upper part above beside the pit mouth in the chamber. This information gives a firm chronological sequence - what is found in chamber D is surely earlier than the coffin laying over the mouth of pit. The coffin was described by Lansing as belonging to the 18^{th} dynasty, and it belongs to the white anthropoid type. 692

Lower chamber *D* contained only a single *rishi* coffin. Unlike all the *rishi* coffins described so far, this single interment consisted of a set of two coffins. The outer one was rectangular in shape, with a slightly arched lid and undecorated; the inner was an anthropoid *rishi* coffin, but finely and unusually decorated, with an inscription for a man called Nakht, without any title.⁶⁹³ Its funerary equipment included a kohl vase of the multiple tube typology, a metal hinge, a bronze mirror, two netting needles placed in a bronze vessel near the head of the coffin, a pitcher, a heavy porphyry bowl, a bronze dagger, five bronze arrow-points, and two axe heads. Over the heart of the mummy was placed a dark green stone scarab bearing a human face and inscribed with the typical chapter from the Book of the Dead.⁶⁹⁴

The most remarkably find lying in the opposite, eastern chamber of pit 62/**P3**, consisted of a rectangular coffin far too decayed to be saved, in which was found a *rishi* mask (JE 45629) upon the head of a well wrapped mummy⁶⁹⁵ (see Fig. 98); the body was lying on a bier constructed of wooden slats running lengthwise and

⁶⁸⁹ A.M. LYTHGOE, A. LANSING, N. de Garis DAVIES, *The Egyptian Expedition 1915-16* (1917), p. 21, fig. 18 (alabaster vases), figs. 19-20 (ivory dish).

⁶⁹⁰ MMA photo 5A, 387.

⁶⁹¹ A.M. LYTHGOE, A. LANSING, N. de Garis DAVIES, The Egyptian Expedition 1915-16 (1917), p. 21.

⁶⁹² I am really grateful to Christine Lilyquist for this piece of information and for help in tracing additional information in the MMA archive.

⁶⁹³ See Cat. **rT19MMA**. MMA photos 5A, 394-7. PM I², 2, p. 617. A.M. LYTHGOE, A. LANSING, N. de Garis DAVIES, *The Egyptian Expedition 1915-16* (1917), p. 22.

⁶⁹⁴ MMA photo 5A, 392; see A.M. LYTHGOE, A. LANSING, N. de Garis DAVIES, *The Egyptian Expedition 1915-16* (1917), p. 22-4.

⁶⁹⁵ For the mask see *infra* p. 137-8.

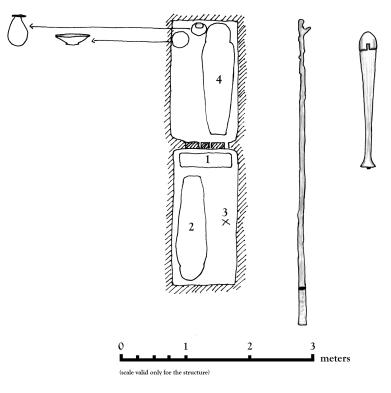


Fig. 99 Plan of the funerary chamber at the bottom of the pit in tomb 62/44, from *MMAArch*. Carter Mss. pl. V. Drawing by G. Miniaci.

supported at the ends by four short legs in the shape of lions' paws. 696 Lying on the bier was a ritual dagger, an ivory inlaid game box decorated with scenes of hounds chasing gazelles, and a wooden lyre. 697 The ivory box bore the name of the "overseer of the prophets of Kamose" Mosi. 698 Although this information cannot date the whole pit-tomb, it does provide a chronological point for the burial containing the *rishi* mask. The funerary equipment found in the pit-tomb is consistent as a whole not with a late Middle Kingdom date, but rather one towards the end of the Second Intermediate Periodbeginning of the 18th dynasty. The presence of the latest type of rishi coffin in chamber D, the two alabaster vases in chamber B whose shape is suggestive of the period of Amenhotep I,⁶⁹⁹ and the name of the king Kamose, strongly suggest that the whole structure belongs to the very late 17th-early 18th dynasty.

Pit-tomb no. 62/43 (later renumbered as P4) consisting of three chambers off a single shaft contained only a few remains from the earlier burials, including some fragments of model boats, granary figures and some potsherds. Better preserved, are sixteen burials dating to a slightly later period, of which only two are *rishi* coffins.

One of them, no. 62/**43.17**,⁷⁰⁰ displays the white anthropoid style combined with the feathered pattern.⁷⁰¹ The coffin contained a walking stick, an aragonite pot, two scarabs, and above it the remains of a chair were recorded.⁷⁰² The other *rishi* coffin, no. 62/**43.16**,⁷⁰³ decorated with a standard feather pattern, contained similar equipment with the addition of a bronze razor, but without the walking stick. In the same chamber, in a wooden jewel box belonging to a rectangular decorated coffin, were two scarabs giving the names of king Amenhotep I and queen Nefertari. This indicates the period in which the chamber was in use (or re-use), although the names do not supply any precise key dating for the *rishi* coffins, being associated with the rectangular coffin. However, the mention of princess Neferure on a scarab belonging to another rectangular coffin stored in a different chamber of the same pit, ties the last phase of the whole tomb to a later period in the sequence.⁷⁰⁴

In pit-tomb 62/**49** (later renumbered as P5), lying under chapel no. 62/48,⁷⁰⁵ three *rishi* coffins were found in the only chamber off the shaft. Within one of the coffins⁷⁰⁶ was a roughly made limestone statuette of a woman named "Nub-aa-s-ib" dedicated by her son Si-Hathor.⁷⁰⁸

⁶⁹⁶ A.M. LYTHGOE, A. LANSING, N. de Garis DAVIES, *The Egyptian Expedition 1915-16* (1917), p. 24. Compare the lion paw bier with a coffin in the shape of a mummification bed, TR 19.11.27.4, Egyptian Museum, Cairo; see H. WILLEMS, *The Embalmer Embalmed* (1997), p. 359, fig. 7. A full photographic edition is going to be published by the author.

⁶⁹⁷ A.M. LYTHGOE, A. LANSING, N. de Garis DAVIES, *The Egyptian Expedition 1915-16* (1917), p. 24-5, fig. 26 (dagger), fig. 27 (lyre), figs. 16, 28 (mask).

⁶⁹⁸ Now in Egyptian Museum, Cairo, JE 45696. PM I², 2, p. 618. See MMA photo 5A, 565 and H.E. WINLOCK, *The tombs of the kings of the seventeenth dynasty* (1924), p. 262, n. 3.

⁶⁹⁹ A.M. LYTHGOE, A. LANSING, N. de Garis DAVIES, *The Egyptian Expedition 1915-16* (1917), p. 20 fig. 17; *cf.* H. CARTER, *Report on the Tomb of Zeser-ka-Ra Amenhetep I* (1916), p. 147-54.

⁷⁰⁰ See Cat. *r*T25carca.

⁷⁰¹ MMAArch. Carter Mss. p. 2.

⁷⁰² MMAArch. Carter Mss. p. 2, pl. XXVIII.43.16 (scarabs).

⁷⁰³ See Cat. *r*T26carca.

⁷⁰⁴ MMAArch. Carter Mss. p. 1.

⁷⁰⁵ GIArch. Carter Mss. i.J..31-32.

⁷⁰⁶ See Cat. *r*T27carca.

⁷⁰⁷ Perhaps to read T^c-s-ib-nb, see H. RANKE, Peronennamen (1935), p. 12, no. 11.

⁷⁰⁸ *MMAArch*. Carter Mss. p. 7.

Pit-tomb no. 62/44 (later renumbered as P6) contained three coffins, among which only one, no. 62/44.4, 709 was lying in the single funerary chamber, while the others were lying at the bottom of the pit (see Fig. 99). The coffin no. 62/44.4 belongs to the feathered type, featured by two horizontal bands running across the lid inscribed with $im3\hbar w$ $\hbar v$ -formula and presenting some vignettes and inscriptions along the side walls of the case following the style of white anthropoid coffins. The face of the coffin was gilded and the eyes were inlaid. The owner, the "doorkeeper of the king" iry-g n nswt Seped bore a blue paste scarab inscribed with the name of queen Ahhotep loints may suggest a dating after year 22 of Ahmose. Also in the coffin there were a wooden baton with leather cap and copper nail and a wooden walking stick with copper ferrule (see Fig. 99) inscribed both with the $\hbar tp$ di nswt offering formula and the name and titles of the deceased.





front

hack

Fig. 100 Scarab inscribed with the name of queen Ahhotep found in the *rishi* coffin of Seped (62/44.4 = Cat. *r*T02CarCa), from C.H. ROEHRIG, R. DREYFUS, C.A. KELLER, (eds.), *Hatshepsut* (2005), p. 208-9, fig. 128b.

- The Dating of C 37 and C 62 Complexes

As stated by Carter in his notes made during excavations in C 62, all the tombs were protected by blockings of sand bricks and stones in the corridors, the passages, and the upper chambers. Even the openings of the pillared main façade were masked by masses of enormous boulders or were sealed by stones and debris (see Fig. 101). A similar situation was recorded by Lansing for the MMA sector, with the tomb entrances roughly blocked with bricks.⁷¹⁴ In contrast, the main entrance of tomb 37/37, as well as the façade openings, was unusually left open, while only the inner chambers were carefully blocked and sealed. At the same time, scattered coffins with their burial equipment were laying unsecure along the portico and the



Fig. 101 Drawing of the façade of tomb 62/62 as found by Carter and Carnarvon during the cleaning of the courtyard. Drawing by P. Whelan.

long corridor (see Figs. 80-1). In the filling used to seal tomb 62/62 and 62/47, two funerary cones bearing the cartouche of king Ahmose were found. Therefore, the final blocking of the whole complex would have been done during or after the reign of Ahmose. However, there is a noteworthy absence of any other successive king's names. Different again, in tomb C 37, the names of Amenhotep I (coffin no. 37/37.16), Tuthmosis I (no. 37/37.31, 37/37.59), Tuthmosis II (no. 37/37.59), Tuthmosis III (no. 37/37.53) frequently occur. The general impression is that the history of the two structures is quite different. The inner rooms of funerary complex C

⁷⁰⁹ See Cat. rT02CarCa.

⁷¹⁰ MMAArch. Carter Mss. p. 2. See MMA photo pl. XCI (40-19) corresponding to MMAArch. Carter Mss. pl. XVa and to GIArch. Carter Mss. i.J.19.

The scarab is published in C.H. ROEHRIG, R. DREYFUS, C.A. KELLER, (eds.), *Hatshepsut* (2005), p. 208-9, fig. 128b. See *supra* n. 658.

⁷¹³ *MMAArch*. Carter Mss. p. 2, pl. XXVIII.44.4 (Ahhotep's scarab), XVIII.44.4 (scarab with floral pattern), III (baton, walking stick), XII (baton).

A.M. LYTHGOE, A. LANSING, N. de Garis DAVIES, The Egyptian Expedition 1915-16 (1917), p. 13.

⁷¹⁵ MMAArch. Carter Mss. p. 4 and 7; cf. The Marquis of NORTHAMPTON, W. SPIEGELBERG, P. NEWBERRY, Report (1908), pl. XXIV (12).

⁷¹⁶ Earl of CARNARVON, H. CARTER, Five Years' Explorations at Thebes (1912), at p. 64-88.

62 seem to have been sealed soon after the reign of Ahmose and point to the latter's reign as the *terminus ad* and *ante quem* for the burials stored in this huge complex. Indeed, as shown by the coffins laying in open spaces and the presence of the name of Tuthmosis III, tomb C 37 seems to have still been in use when it was finally and definitively sealed by the filling for the Hatshepsut valley temple. By way of confirmation is the absence of any brick or stone sealing of the main entrance of the C 37 complex, while three of the inner chambers were carefully closed.⁷¹⁷

A reverse chronological picture emerges for the pit-tombs in the courtyards of the two tomb complexes. The pit-tombs in C 37's courtyard belongs to an earlier period ,with most of the grave goods dating to the late Middle Kingdom, even if a later re-occupation is evident, while pit-tombs in C 62's courtyard show several early 18th dynasty features, including the names of kings and distinctive object types.

The relatively modest and poor condition in which Carter found these tombs can be ascribed to various and not necessarily incompatible reasons. Their apparent destitution could have been the result of ancient pillaging, since some individuals were clearly re-wrapped, and may reflect the low value burial equipment of modest interments, whose destitute appearance would have been accentuated by the humidity suffered by the Theban necropolis due to flooding.⁷¹⁸ In addition, another significant factor which could have greatly altered the original context is the destructive action of white ants that riddled coffins and objects made from softer local wood, such as sycamore fig.⁷¹⁹ By contrast, imported coniferous woods such as cedar have greater resistance to damp and insect damage.⁷²⁰ A difference in the wood species employed in the manufacture of the burial equipment could likewise lead to misleading archaeological evidence.

The main reason for their appearance could be due to there being a different burial custom in use during the Second Intermediate Period, where burials contained more perishable items, like sycamore wood and basketry furniture, and equipment that was generally more utilitarian. To this has to be added the tendency at this time to use multiple burials, which often resulted in a kind of "internal pillage" whereby items were removed from older burials to be re-used in new interments. Reuse necessarily implies the alteration/destruction of a previous state as highlighted by Winlock in one of his excavations records, "Four women had been buried there successively, and as each newcomer was brought down the pit for her everlasting rest her undertakers had taken the occasion to drag her predecessor out of their coffins and break up their furniture in the search for valuables. Finally the last occupant was brought down, a spot cleared out in the corner of the room, baskets, wigs, coffins, and pitifully maltreated mummies brushed aside, and his coffin left there". Telegraph of the period of the period

However, not all the items suffered re-use or despoliation; the resilience and preservation as well as the variability of dispersion and destruction of some late Middle Kingdom items, noticed here and there in Carter and Carnarvon records, can be ascribed to a change in funerary practices between the late Middle Kingdom and the Second Intermediate Period. Some caution is necessary when making judgments as this evidence could also give a false impression, because objects of value, such as jewellery, were most likely re-used or stolen, so they disappeared from their original context, whereas other objects, such as wooden models and faience figurines, were, it seems, considered worthless by later occupants and discarded in the tomb itself, where they were then found by the excavators.⁷²²

The Egyptian Expedition of the Metropolitan Museum of Art

At the beginning of the 20th century one of the Metropolitan Museum of Art's concessions in Luxor lay at the edge of the Asasif plain. The concession was bounded on the north by the causeway of Hatshepsut's temple, and on the south by the hill of el-Khokha on which the house of the Egyptian Expedition was situated.⁷²³

⁷¹⁷ Earl of CARNARVON, H. CARTER, Five Years' Explorations at Thebes (1912), p. 65.

⁷¹⁸ P. DEL VESCO, Archaeological context (2009), p. 138-42.

⁷¹⁹ Earl of CARNARVON, H. CARTER, Five Years' Explorations at Thebes (1912), p. 51; D. POLZ et al., Bericht über die 9. bis 12. Grabungskampagne (2003), p. 354, 358, n. 150; M. NELSON, La tombe d'une nourrice royale (2006), p. 119.

⁷²⁰ W.V. DAVIES, Ancient Egyptian Timber Imports (1995), p. 148.

⁷²¹ H.E. WINLOCK, *The Egyptian Expedition 1920-21* (1921), p. 35.

The case of the funerary equipment of Renseneb may be of a certain relevance; the mirror, a funerary item still used during the Second Intermediate Period, was concealed in the linen, and for this reason remained untouched; the ivory gaming board for the hounds and jackals game may have already begun declining in popularity, since by the late Second Intermediate Period *senet* became the favourite game, *cf.* Hornakht's burial equipment, see *supra* p. 58.

⁷²³ H.E. WINLOCK, Excavations at Thebes in 1912-13 (1914), p. 11-2; A. LANSING, Excavations at Thebes, 1918-19 (1920), p. 11.

1912 the Metropolitan Museum's Egyptian Expedition decided to begin excavations at end of Montuhotep's causeway in order to find its valley temple. Excavations were carried out at the southern and northern sides of the causeway⁷²⁴ where a series of structures dating to the late Middle Kingdom-early New Kingdom were found.⁷²⁵ In the northern area the expedition found a small brick pyramid with a chapel and a series of saff tombs built in its courtvard (see Fig. was 102). The pyramid considered a royal structure according to its position and by the fact that it had been restored and its entrance walled up after its Following the dating proposed by Winlock it was differently attributed to the kings Kamose or Ahmose.726 Unfortunately, all the structures nearby were found pillaged and empty. However, scattered in this area Winlock found several funerary cones belonging to the "high priest of Amun" hm ntr tpj n *Imn* and "overseer of the sealers" imy-r htmtjw Djehuty, who lived the reign of king

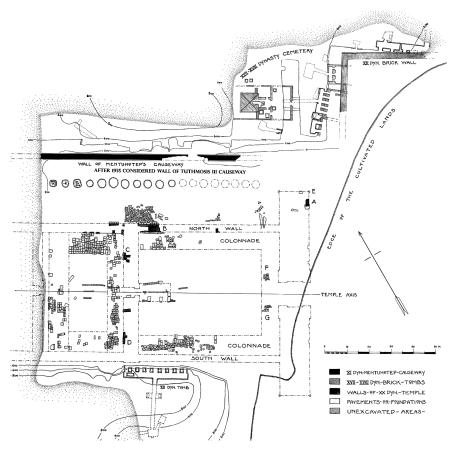


Fig. 102 Plan of the structures found by the Metropolitan Museum of Art Expedition at the foot of the causeway of Montuhotep II/Tuthmosis III at el-Birabi. In the upper part is the plan of the small brick pyramid with its chapel and a series of tombs of the late 17th/early 18th dynasty, after H.E. WINLOCK, *Excavations at Thebes in 1912-13* (1914), fig. 10.

Nebpehetyre Ahmose, and to the "wab-priest" wb and imy-wrt n Tmn Amenemheb, who lived under Amenhotep I.⁷²⁷ This information, together with the analysis of pottery and traces of decoration still preserved in the chapel, points to a cemetery of the late Second Intermediate Period in this area.

In 1935-36 the Egyptian Expedition investigated the avenue of Tuthmosis III.⁷²⁸ At its eastern end Hayes discovered a partially intact tomb, no. **279**, sealed by the avenue of Tuthmosis III and preserved by the mortuary

As pointed out by Daniel Polz, the archaeological information supplied by the excavators for the northern sector of Montuhotep's causeway creates a range of chronological problems. During the first excavations Winlock stated: "Excavations which we carried on at this point brought to light a small brick pyramid, with its chapel, and a series of tombs, built against the face of the cut [Montuhotep's causeway], thus proving that the cut was earlier than they were", H.E. WINLOCK, Excavations at Thebes in 1912-13 (1914), p. 16. Meanwhile, in 1934-35 the Egyptian Expedition discovered a causeway belonging to the small temple built by Tuthmosis III running down to the cultivated land between the complexes of Hatshepsut and Montuhotep. As result, what Winlock had thought to be the northern border of Montuhotep's causeway was evidently the northern border of Tuthmosis III's avenue; Montuhotep's causeway was narrower than had at first been thought. In his later publication of 1942, Winlock reconsidered the northern limits of Montuhotep's causeway and labelled them as "Wall of Thut-mose III Causeway" (H.E. WINLOCK, Excavations at Deir el Bahri (1942), p. 7, fig. 1), but he did not discuss the dating of the structures cut off by this wall. See the discussion in D. POLZ, Der Beginn des Neuen Reiches (2007), p. 139.

⁷²⁵ H.E. WINLOCK, Excavations at Thebes in 1912-13 (1914), p. 15-7.

⁷²⁶ H.E. WINLOCK, *The tombs of the kings of the seventeenth dynasty* (1924), p. 262.

⁷²⁷ H.E. WINLOCK, *Excavations at Thebes in 1912-13* (1914), p. 16; H.E. WINLOCK, *The tombs of the kings of the seventeenth dynasty* (1924), p. 264-5. Recently discussed in D. POLZ, *Der Beginn des Neuen Reiches* (2007), p. 149-52.
⁷²⁸ A. LANSING, *The Egyptian Expedition 1934-1935* (1935), p. 4-16.

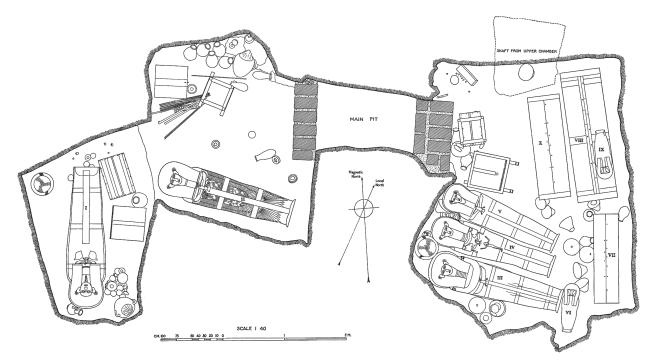


Fig. 103 Plan of the burial chambers of Neferkhewet and his family, from W.C. HAYES, *The tomb of Nefer-Khewet* (1935), fig. 1.

temple of Ramses IV built upon it. The tomb belonged to the "keeper of documents in the house of the Great Wife Hatshepsut" Neferkhewet, and his relatives. It consists of a rectangular shaft sunk in the low-lying rock with two opposite side chambers at its bottom, the western one roughly made up of two rooms. As pointed out by Hayes the complete structure was the result of successive rather than simultaneous burials and similarly the design of the structure followed several different stages⁷²⁹ (see Fig. 103). Indeed, the blocking of the chamber doorways, found to be still untouched at the time of the discovery, had been resealed several times before the last closing.

The tomb of Neferkhewet seems to have been deliberately built in order to accommodate a sequence of burials and to allow for numerous openings and closings over a relatively long time span.⁷³⁰ Neferkhewet and his wife the "lady of the house" Rennofer, the earlier burials, lay undisturbed being placed in the western rooms. Only Rennofer was equipped with a coffin of the *rishi* type decorated with inscribed horizontal bands and an unusual blue ground colour,⁷³¹ while Neferkhewet was equipped with a white anthropoid coffin.⁷³²

The funerary equipment of Rennofer included amongst the most noteworthy objects, a canopic chest with flat lids, a small basket containing toilet objects, a bronze mirror, a wooden comb, carved wooden hairpins, a bronze razor and knife, an inlaid game box, and one stool. A jewel box, which contained a scarab bearing the name of Tuthmosis I, was also part of the personal belongings of Rennofer. This evidence provides a date for the earliest phase of the complex.

Generally it is thought that the coffin of Neferkhewet, although belonging to the white type, entered the tomb before that of his wife Rennofer, because the former was placed in the furthest chamber and the latter in the chamber closest to the shaft. Another reason for the dating is suggested by the undisturbed character of the burial goods in the western chambers.⁷³⁴ However, this reasoning could be debated, since the coffin of Rennofer lay on the southern side of the chamber while his burial equipment was arranged and stacked against the opposite wall, possibly in order to create space to pass through. Moreover, part of the equipment belonging to Neferkhewet, such as the inlaid game box or the pair of stools, was shared between his and Rennofer's

⁷²⁹ W.C. HAYES, *The tomb of Nefer-Khewet* (1935), p. 17.

⁷³⁰ P.F. DORMAN, *Family burial* (2003), p. 36.

⁷³¹ See Cat. *r***T20MMA**.

⁷³² W.C. HAYES, *The tomb of Nefer-Khewet* (1935), p. 22.

⁷³³ W.C. HAYES, *The tomb of Nefer-Khewet* (1935), p. 28.

⁷³⁴ P.F. DORMAN, *Family burial* (2003), p. 34.

chamber. The chamber of Neferkhewet was already sealed at the time of Rennofer's burial, it would be extremely difficult to suggest the chronological sequence Neferkhewet-Rennofer, but it would be easier to consider the opposite possibility, Rennofer-Neferkhewet. The probability that Rennofer predeceased her husband is supported by the different dating elements found in the two burial assemblages. Rennofer's included the scarab inscribed with the name of Tuthmosis I, while Neferkhewet's included a highly polished alabaster vase with the titles and the name of queen Hatshepsut when she was still crown princess. Possibly, the original layout of the structure did not include the westernmost chamber, which was added only after Rennofer had already been buried inside (see Fig. 104).

In addition to the lower chambers, an upper chamber part way down the shaft on the eastern side was discovered by the excavators, containing the remains of some badly plundered burials including an inscribed faience bowl dedicated to

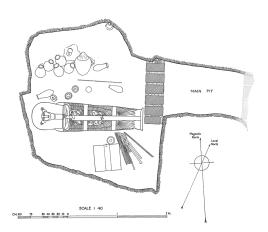


Fig. 104 Hypothetical reconstruction of the first phase of tomb 279 with only the first western chamber containing the burial of Rennofer.

Hathor, a beautifully carved magic wand [sic] in glazed steatite, an ivory knob from a box, a wooden shabti figure and a wooden harp. This additional chamber arranged at an upper level, may reflect a late Middle Kingdom architectural feature.⁷³⁷ This element could point to the reuse during the Second Intermediate Period of an original structure of the late Middle Kingdom.

The Asasif and Deir el-Bahri cemeteries

The meaning of the toponym el-Asasif is uncertain. In a note, Gardiner assigned to the word "Asasif' the meaning "passages under the earth leading into one other" following a tradition of Mahmud Effendi Rushdy, 738 while Newberry referred to el-Asasif as a name possibly deriving from asîf, "barren, unproductive" applied to the land. 739 In the latter respect, the valley of the Asasif consists of a long stretch of desert running westwards to the Deir el-Bahri temples, bounded on the south by the hills of el-Khokha and Sheikh Abdel-Gurnah and on the north by the necropolis of Dra Abu el-Naga. Its eastern end borders the cemetery of el-Birabi and the area around the valley temple of Hatshepsut (see Fig. 105).



Fig. 105 View of the Asasif area from Hatshepsut's temple. Photo by G. Miniaci.

⁷³⁵ See the discussion in W.C. HAYES, *The tomb of Nefer-Khewet* (1935), p. 32, 34 and plan in fig. 1.

⁷³⁶ PM I², 2, p. 621; W.C. HAYES, *The tomb of Nefer-Khewet* (1935), p. 30.

⁷³⁷ See G. MINIACI, S. QUIRKE, *Reconceiving the Tomb in the Late Middle Kingdom* (2009), p. 363-7. *Cf.* D. ARNOLD, *Middle Kingdom Tomb Architecture at Lisht* (2008), p. 77-8, pl. 149.

⁷³⁸ A.H. GARDINER, A.E.P. WEIGALL, *A topographical catalogue* (1913), p. 13, n. 1.

⁷³⁹ P.E. NEWBERRY, *Topographical notes* (1906), p. 80, no. 18

The Egyptian Expedition of the Metropolitan Museum of Art

Not far from the great court of Pedamenopet's tomb (TT 33),⁷⁴⁰ in the valley of the Asasif (see Fig. 106), more than forty coffins were found piled up together under a mound of filling and rubbish. The excavators noted that although some funerary equipment was missing from a number of burials, there was scarcely evidence of plundering.⁷⁴¹

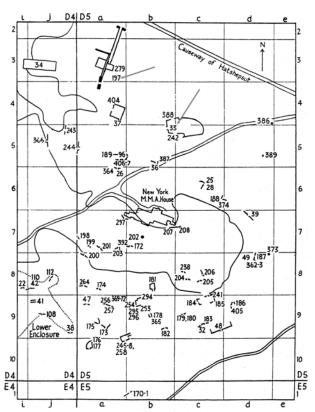


Fig. 106 Map of the Asasif and el-Khokha cemeteries, showing the position of tombs TT 33 and TT 196, from PM I², 1, pl. 4.

At the first sight, it was thought that the huge number of burials and their chaotic disposition was the result of having been moved from their original resting places during the construction of Hatshepsut's causeway, as suggested by Lansing. However, it has been shown by other archaeological contexts that the location of the building operation did not require the movement or preservation of older burials, whether or not they belonged to the wealthy or to those of modest status. Nowadays, although the preliminary excavation does not record any specific structure, we can parallel the situation with two family internments found by Carter and Carnarvon at el-Birabi and many other tombs belonging to the Second Intermediate Period.⁷⁴²

Most of the coffins belonged to the Middle Kingdom rectangular type, six of them are rectangular with a black ground and arched lid, 743 and a few belonged to the *rishi* type. 744 The burial equipment comprised in addition to the usual jewelry and toilet articles, an ink stand, a small wooden female statuette found in a rectangular coffin inscribed for a lady Dedtuamun, a number of bows and staves, a broken harp, and a weaver's tool. 745 Actually, the presence of black rectangular coffins among the other finds might indicate a slightly earlier use of this multiple burial than for others found by Carter and suggests a dating of the whole complex to approximately the late 13th-early 17th dynasties. Moreover, in one of the coffins was found a cartouche-shaped plaque bearing the legend "Sobek-Re,

Lord of Shedyt". The presence of Sobek-Re Lord of Shedyt may indicate that there was still a strong link with the late Middle Kingdom culture of Lower Egypt. 747

One of the *rishi* coffins belonging to a man called Puhor Senbu⁷⁴⁸ contained "a glazed steatite scarab with a decorative design on its underside, tied by a cord to a finger of the left hand [of the mummy], and a matching cowroid of the same material and with a similar design, attached with a loop of cord to the left wrist [of the

⁷⁴⁰ PM I², 2, p. 624 wrongly locates this late Middle Kingdom/Second Intermediate Period cemetery near to the tomb of Pabasa (TT 279), while the description given by Lansing places it in the neighborhood of the tomb of Pedamenopet (TT 33).

⁷⁴¹ A. LANSING, Excavations in the Asasif at Thebes. Season of 1918-19 (1920), p. 14.

⁷⁴² See *supra* p. 88. See discussion in P.F. DORMAN, *Family burial* (2003), p. 30-41.

⁷⁴³ See PM I², 2, p. 624-5. See coffin T5NY, T6NY, T7NY, T8NY from Willems coffins list in *Chests of Life* (1988), p. 33.

⁷⁴⁴ PM I², 2, p. 625. See Cat. *r*T01NY, *r*T02NY, *r*T03NY.

⁷⁴⁵ A. LANSING, Excavations in the Asasif at Thebes. Season of 1918-19 (1920), p. 16.

⁷⁴⁶ W.C. HAYES, *The Scepter of Egypt* (1959), vol. II, p. 20.

⁷⁴⁷ Sobek of Shedyt (C. LEITZ, *Lexikon* (2002), p. 263-4) seems to be never attested in the South of Egypt during the Middle Kingdom, see M. ZECCHI, *Geografia Religiosa del Fayyum* (2001), p. 37-50. See also J. YOYOTTE, *Le Soukhos de la Maréotide* (1957), p. 81-95. *Cf.* Earl of CARNARVON, H. CARTER, *Five Years' Explorations at Thebes* (1912), p. 56, pl. XLIX.2, where Sobek lord of Illahun is quoted, see *supra* n. 56.

⁷⁴⁸ See Cat. *r***T02NY**.

mummy]. On the right hand [of the mummy] was a roughly shaped scarab of haematite, and around the neck two long cords, one supporting three alabaster amulets (a falcon and two "hearts") with a big cylindrical bead at the back serving as counterpoise, the other having eight kidneyshaped seeds tied to it at intervals. Around the waist of the mummy there was a girdle of small shell and carnelian disk beads and, scattered in the wrappings, a long cylindrical bead of blue faience and a quantity of loose disk beads".749

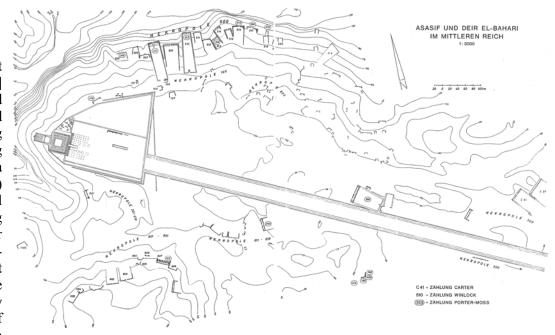


Fig. 107 Map of Deir el-Bahri and the Asasif with the numbering system adopted by the Metropolitan Museum of Art Expedition, from D. ARNOLD, *Grabung im Asasif 1963-1970* (1971), pl. 1. Courtesy of Dieter Arnold.

Moreover, the coffin contained also two terracotta figures of a woman and her child wrapped together in linen bandages.⁷⁵⁰

In MMA cemetery 200 at Deir el-Bahri, "on a spur of the hill overlooking the southeastern corner of the courtyard" of the funerary temple of Mentuhotep II, burials of the late Middle Kingdom were found by Winlock in years 1921-22⁷⁵¹ (see Fig. 107). Some rock-cut chapels were built in this cemetery which probably belonged to members of a single family and date to around the time of Amenemhat III. The wever, the presence of a stella for the "overseer of the field" Nebiryrau from the same area, tomb no. 212, generally dated to the late 13th dynasty, may suggest that the cemetery was in use over a long period and above all mainly during the late Middle Kingdom/early Second Intermediate Period. A number of black rectangular coffins come from this cemetery. Second Intermediate Period.

From the debris of tomb **no. 211**, belonging to the "mayor", "overseer of prophets", and "divine father in Karnak" Senusretankh, comes a *rishi* coffin of a *w*^c*b*-priest named Ahmes.⁷⁵⁵ Found in tomb no. 204, also in the same area, were fragments of a black rectangular coffin of the "overseer of the field" Ibia,⁷⁵⁶ which is generally dated to the late 13th or early 17th dynasty.⁷⁵⁷

Along the northern side of Mentuhotep's causeway and near the front of the temple's great courtyard, the Egyptian Expedition of the Metropolitan Museum of Art found a massive hole filled entirely with rubbish and scattered material which had been sealed by Tuthmosis III' causeway embankment laying over it. 758 Evidently, the building of Tuthmosis III's causeway resulted in the destruction of earlier burials laying there.

Found amongst the filling was part of the funerary equipment belonging to the "overseer of the city" *imy-r* nwt Iuy, 759 including a wooden (see Fig. 119) and a limestone statue as well as the boards from a coffin bearing

⁷⁴⁹ W.C. HAYES, *The Scepter of Egypt* (1959), vol. II, p. 19-20.

⁷⁵⁰ W.C. HAYES, *The Scepter of Egypt* (1959), vol. II, p. 16-7, fig. 6 (left).

⁷⁵¹ H.E. WINLOCK, *The Egyptian Expedition 1921-22* (1922), p. 30.

⁷⁵² H.E. WINLOCK, *Excavations at Deir el Bahri* (1942), p. 52. The date given by Winlock is based on nothing more than a reference to Amenemhat III in the burial of the "overseer of the prophets in Karnak" Senusretankh.

⁷⁵³ W. GRAJETZKI, *Notes on administration* (2010), p. 305-12; S. QUIRKE, *Royal power in the 13th dynasty* (1991), p. 133.

⁷⁵⁴ H.E. WINLOCK, The Egyptian Expedition 1921-22 (1922), p. 31.

⁷⁵⁵ PM I², 2, p. 654. See Cat. **rT22mma**.

⁷⁵⁶ PM I², 2, p. 654; W. GRAJETZKI, *Die höchsten Beamten* (2000), p. 136, V.18.

⁷⁵⁷ See G. MINIACI, *The incomplete hieroglyphs* (2010), p. 120-3.

⁷⁵⁸ On the confusion between the Mentuhotep and Tuthmosis III causeways during the MMA excavations see *supra* n. 724.

⁷⁵⁹ H.E. WINLOCK, *The Egyptian Expedition 1922-23* (1923), p. 31. See Cat. *r***T23mma**.

the name and titles of Iuy. ⁷⁶⁰ The coffin parts were gilded and covered by feathers, a feature that places the coffin into the *rishi* genre.

The Excavations in TT196 under the Direction of Erhart Graefe

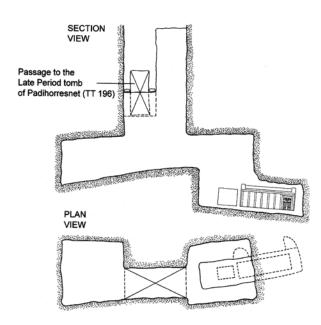


Fig. 108 Section and plan of the late Middle Kingdom tomb discovered by Erhart Graefe beneath the second open court of TT 196. Reconstruction from W. GRAJETZKI, *Court Officials* (2009), p. 90, fig. 40.

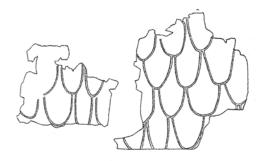
Beneath the second open court of TT 196, Erhart Graefe discovered a late Middle Kingdom pit-tomb with two facing chambers of roughly similar proportions. In one chamber, in a narrow extension cut at a lower level (see Fig. 108), the coffin and the remains of a canopic box for the "royal sealer" htmty bity and "overseer of fields" imy-r 3hwt Rediamun were found. 761 The titles and name of the high official were preserved on fragments of the gold foil which once covered his canopic box. Unfortunately, the wood was completely decayed and only the hard inlays and the occasional imprint of painted decoration in the compacted sand had survived. The coffin was about 80 cm wide and 2.20 m long, with an unknown height, and was probably decorated with a palace façade pattern on the long sides and a s3 (perhaps a tit-knot?)-sign + a dd-pillar motif on the short sides. The measurements of the imprints might suggest that what Graefe found once belonged to a rectangular coffin.

Amongst the finds is a fragment of gold foil decorated with a feather pattern (see Fig. 109), perhaps belonging to a *rishi* coffin, ⁷⁶² which probably also belongs to the burial of Rediamun and could be considered as the inner part of a set comprising an anthropoid *rishi* and a rectangular coffin. ⁷⁶³ Also from the same archaeological context come four clay canopic jars, gilded ears, gilded

eyes, pottery vessels, pieces of jewellery, a scarab, the remains of inlays in the shape of a wd3t-eye, a δn -ring, and pieces of a palace façade decoration. ⁷⁶⁴

In the third court of TT 196, Graefe discovered the entrance to another late Middle Kingdom-Second Intermediate Period tomb, labelled "Doppelgrabanlage M" (see Fig. 110), which contained numerous wooden fragments from *rishi* coffins. Although very fragmentary, the *rishi* fragments do not show any unusual features,

Fig. 109 Fragments of gold foil decoration possibly from a *rishi* coffin (the largest fragment measures 7 x 5.8 cm), from E. GRAEFE, *Das Grab des Padihorresnet* (2003), pl. 118.



⁷⁶⁰ PM I², 2, p. 626; H.E. WINLOCK, *The Egyptian Expedition 1922-23* (1923), p. 31. The title of vizier attributed to him by Hayes seems wrong, W.C. HAYES, *The Scepter of Egypt* (1959), vol. II, p. 56-7; furthermore, a man with the title and the name similar to the *imy-r nwt* Iuy appears on a Vienna stela, who is perhaps the same person (I. HEIN, H. SATZINGER, *Stelen des Mittleren Reiches II* (1993), vol. VII, p. 103-11). The wooden uninscribed statue found at Thebes and the Vienna stela seem to be no later than the 13th dynasty. See also discussion in W. GRAJETZKI, *Die höchsten Beamten* (2000), p. 22, I.18.

⁷⁶¹ E. Graefe, *Das Grab des Padihorresnet* (2003), vol. I, p. 209, pl. 118, Kat. 541-4.

⁷⁶² E. GRAEFE, *Das Grab des Padihorresnet* (2003), vol. I, p. 209, pl. 118, Kat. 540. See Cat. **rT01Gr**.

⁷⁶³ For a possible reconstruction of the burial, see W. GRAJETZKI, *Court Officials* (2009), p. 89-91.

⁷⁶⁴ E. GRAEFE, Das Grab des Padihorresnet (2003), vol. I, p. 30, 61-3, list at p. 64, pls. 117-8, Kat. 536-9.

⁷⁶⁵ E. GRAEFE, *Die Doppelgrabanlage "M"* (2007), see pls. 3-7. See Cat. *r*T02Gr.

which therefore seems to place them in the classic phase of the *rishi* type development.⁷⁶⁶

The third valley: the Sankhkare cemetery

Between the hills of Sheikh Abdel-Gurnah and Gurnet Murrai, just behind the Ramesseum, runs a valley that housed an unfinished royal monument, assigned by Winlock to king Sankhkare Mentuhotep and considered to be his funerary temple (see Fig. 111). The name of the king was used to designate the surrounding area, which is often referred to as the Sankhkare cemetery. The her recent reassessment of the archaeological evidence, Dorothea Arnold has argued that king Amenemhat I is the most plausible owner of the incomplete temple. However, lacking any strong archaeological proof, the question still remains an open debate amongst the scholars.

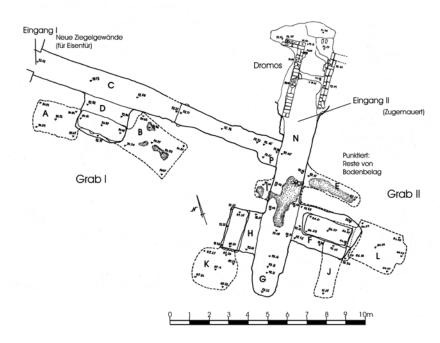


Fig. 110 Plan of the "Doppelgrabanlage M" discovered by Erhart Graefe beneath the third open court of TT 196, from E. GRAEFE, *Die Doppelgrabanlage "M"* (2007).

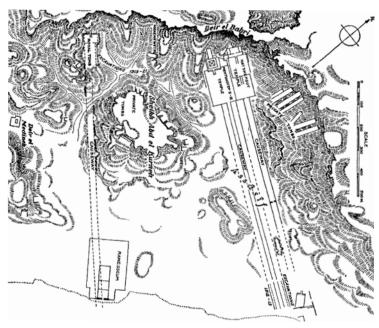


Fig. 111 Sketch map of the Theban necropolis showing the location of the unfinished temple behind the Ramesseum, from H.E. WINLOCK, *The Egyptian Expedition 1920-21* (1921), fig. 1.

The Egyptian Expedition of the Metropolitan Museum of Art

The Egyptian Expedition of the Metropolitan Museum of Art investigated this area during the years 1920-22. Around the edge of the platform, on which the temple would have been raised, some pit-tombs were found belonging to the period stretching from the 13th to the 17th dynasty (see Fig. 112). Most of them seem to have reused existing structures and thus only few were "new" tombs.770 Unfortunately, the excavation records do not give more detailed information about them. Another Second Intermediate Period cemetery consisting of a series of grave pits cut into the bedrock was found further east of the platform (see Fig. 112), along the partly constructed causeway of the temple.⁷⁷¹ Almost all the graves were found to contain one or more rishi coffins.

At the mouth of pit-tomb **no. 1013**, the burial of a man named Ahmes Penhut, son of Ahhotep, was found to contain an anonymous

⁷⁶⁶ See *infra* p. 142-3.

⁷⁶⁷ H.E. WINLOCK, *The Rise and Fall* (1947), p. 52, see also 77-90.

⁷⁶⁸ Do. ARNOLD, Amenemhat I and the early Twelfth Dynasty (1991), p. 5-48.

⁷⁶⁹ See for instance, W. GRAJETZKI, *Die höchsten Beamten* (2000), p. 241-3; E. BROVARSKI, *False Doors* (2009), p. 407-13.

⁷⁷⁰ H.E. WINLOCK, *The Egyptian Expedition 1920-21* (1921), p. 34.

⁷⁷¹ See plan in PM I², 2, pl. 10 and Do. ARNOLD, Amenembat I and the early Twelfth Dynasty (1991), fig. 2 at p. 6.

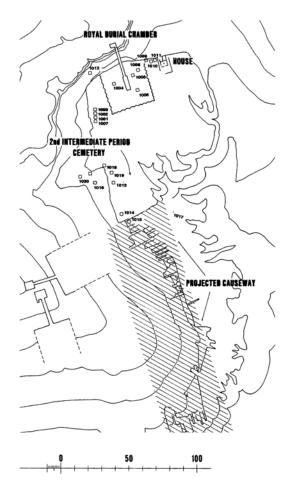


Fig. 112 The area of Sankhkare temple, showing the Second Intermediate Period cemeteries and the reference numbers of the tombs assigned by the Metropolitan Museum Expedition, adapted from Do. ARNOLD, *Amenemhat I and the early Twelfth Dynasty* (1991), fig. 2.

female *rishi* coffin painted with green and white feathers.⁷⁷² The style of the *rishi* coffin points towards an advanced period, which is also supported by the discovery in the burial of a dagger with the name of king Tuthmosis I⁷⁷³ (see Fig. 113). Found inside the same tomb were "bits of mummy cloth written all over with magic texts",⁷⁷⁴ a compound bow, a leather bowman's wristlet, bits of an ebony armchair inlaid with ivory, and a table.⁷⁷⁵

Nearby, the burial of princess Ahmes Tumerisi, daughter of queen Ahhotep,⁷⁷⁶ was identified with pit no. 1016. Although plundered, the Expedition found the two arms of her mummy with skin still showing the imprints of eight bracelets of gold and semi-precious stones, a set of objects in blue faience, and the fragments of linen with the name of the king's daughter Ahmes Tumerisi.⁷⁷⁷

Fig. 113 Dagger handle bearing the name of Tuthmosis I found in tomb no. 1013 belonging to a man named Ahmes Penhut son of Ahhotep, from H.E. WINLOCK, *The Egyptian Expedition 1921-22* (1922), fig. 2. Drawing by G. Miniaci.



The eastern cemetery of Deir el-Medina

In 1933, along the eastern slope of the Deir el-Medina valley, Bernard Bruyère found a cemetery substantially "intact", if one rules out some contemporary robberies mostly relating to the re-opening of tombs for further interments⁷⁷⁸ (see Fig. 114). The cemetery was sealed and protected from ancient and modern plundering from the time of Horemheb when it became a dumping ground for rubbish from the

village of Deir el-Medina. The span of time in which the cemetery was in use dates from the beginning of the 18th dynasty, attested by scarabs bearing the names of Ahmose, to the reign of Tuthmosis III, indicated by the latest datable object found in these burials.⁷⁷⁹ However, Brissaud's reassessment of the archeological material places its use into the reign of Amenhotep II, based on pottery styles found in the tombs of infants.⁷⁸⁰ Although at first sight Bruyère considered the cemetery to have belonged to a group of modest social rank, the recent re-examination of burial assemblages of the early New Kingdom points towards a typical cemetery of the period, which belonged most probably to the middle classes. Indeed, the range of funerary equipment found in the Deir el-Medina eastern cemetery matches with the other burials of the period, such as tomb C 37 or TT 71.⁷⁸¹

⁷⁷² See Cat. *r***T09NY**, MMA photo M.3.C.318.

⁷⁷³ H.E. WINLOCK, *The Egyptian Expedition 1921-22* (1922), p. 20.

⁷⁷⁴ H.E. WINLOCK, *The Egyptian Expedition 1921-22* (1922), p. 20, Winlock does not give further information for the identification of the type of texts.

⁷⁷⁵ H.E. WINLOCK, *The Egyptian Expedition 1921-22* (1922), p. 20-1.

⁷⁷⁶ L. TROY, *Ahhotep* (1979), p. 81-91, fig. 1.

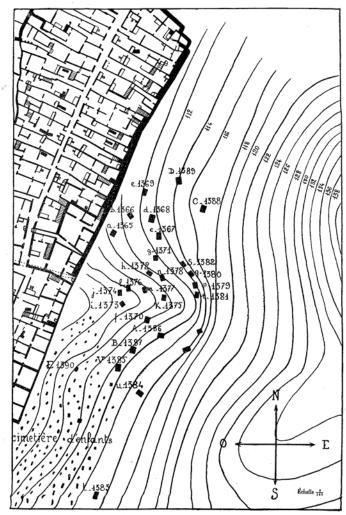
⁷⁷⁷ PM I², 2, p. 668. H.E. WINLOCK, *The Egyptian Expedition 1924-25* (1926), p. 8, quoting H.E. WINLOCK, *The Egyptian Expedition 1921-22* (1922), p. 20.

M.B. Bruyère, Les fouilles de Deir el Médineh (1934-1935) (1937), p. 144-5. See discussion in G. Pierrat-Bonnefois, Cimitière est du village ou cimitière à l'est de Deir el-Médineh? (2003), p. 51.

⁷⁷⁹ M.B. Bruyère, Les fouilles de Deir el Médineh (1934-1935) (1937), p. 6-8.

⁷⁸⁰ Ph. BRISSAUD, La céramique égyptienne du règne d'Aménophis II (1970), p. 24-5.

⁷⁸¹ G. PIERRAT-BONNEFOIS, Cimitière est du village ou cimitière à l'est de Deir el-Médineh? (2003), p. 56-9.



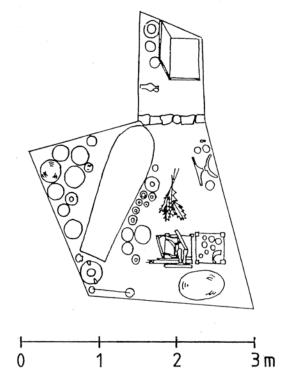


Fig. 114 (left) Map of the eastern cemetery of Deir el-Medina excavated by Bernard Bruyère, from M.B. BRUYÈRE, *Les fouilles de Deir el Médineh (1934-1935)* (1937).

Fig. 115 (right) Plan of tomb no. 1389, from M.B. BRUYÈRE, *Les fouilles de Deir el Médineh (1934-1935)* (1937), fig. 113.

Bruyère's Excavations

Only one tomb, no.1389 (see Fig. 115), included a *rishi* burial, while the others contained white anthropoid and decorated rectangular type coffins. The burial in 1389 was laid in a single roughly square chamber at the bottom of a shaft 2.60 meters deep. In the chamber, the funerary equipment lay all around the *rishi* coffin. The remarkable assemblage comprised, 2 wooden headrests, one broken and another new, 2 chairs, 4 sandals, a kind of quiver made of reeds, an ivory kohl stick, a stool, 3 baskets, grapes, dates and bread, a jewel box, a double wooden kohl vase with an ebony stick, 2 scarabs, a bronze razor, a baton, 9 staves, a wooden lyre, a wooden lute, a toilet horn provided with a spoon at its thigh end, a bronze tool, one yoke, one beer amphora, 32 storage vessels, 7 flowerpots, and 8 bowls or cups.

The uninscribed coffin was covered with a linen sheet and contained the mummy of a man.⁷⁸² Found between the items were two lids bearing the cartouche of king Tuthmosis III.⁷⁸³

The King and the Queen Valleys

The Pacific Lutheran University Valley of the Kings Expedition directed by Donald Ryan, uncovered fragments of *rishi* coffins painted on plastered wood in the undecorated tomb KV 60.⁷⁸⁴ All the fragments preserve part of the decoration belonging to the first layer of feathers, showing very short, round-tipped feathers on a

⁷⁸² See Cat. **rT01PH**.

⁷⁸³ Cf. M.B. Bruyère, Les fouilles de Deir el Médineh (1934-1935) (1937), p. 199-201.

⁷⁸⁴ D.P. RYAN, Who Is Buried in KV60? (spring 1990), p. 34-9, 53-4, 58.

dark-green background, while one fragment also bears besides this decoration part of the yellow painted vertical band inscribed in cursive hieroglyphs⁷⁸⁵ (see Fig. 116). This is an unusual feature for *rishi* coffins. Tomb KV 60 seems to date to the early 18th dynasty, around the time of Hatshepsut, but it was also likely visited during the 20th dynasty perhaps by the builders who were working on nearby KV 19.⁷⁸⁶ A lidless coffin bearing the name of Sitre, called In, the nurse of Hatshepsut, was found in the tomb by Carter in 1903.⁷⁸⁷ Perhaps the *rishi* fragments come from her destroyed coffin lid. However, the Pacific Lutheran University mission also found a large decorated fragment of the head and the foot ends of a coffin belonging to a female singer by the name of Ty. Its style seems to suggest an early 18th dynasty date.⁷⁸⁸

Some tombs of the late 17th dynasty have been found in the Valley of the Queens. One of these, tomb QV 47, belonged to a princess called Ahmes, daughter of Seqenenre Djehuty-aa and Satdjehuty,⁷⁸⁹ and consists of an irregular chamber off a short shaft (4 metres deep). When found by Schiaparelli it had already been plundered in antiquity and filled with mud brought in by flash floods. However, lying in the chamber beside the completely despoiled mummy of the princess were the scant remains of her funerary equipment, which had been

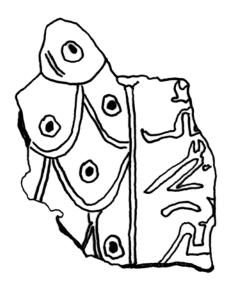


Fig. 116 Drawing of a *rishi* coffin fragment from the Pacific Lutheran University excavations in the Valley of the Kings, courtesy of Donald Ryan.

overlooked by the robbers, consisting of a golden hair-ring,⁷⁹⁰ fragments of painted leather, remains of a wig, fragments of a wooden rectangular coffin and a wooden canopic box, a pair of leather sandals, a comb, and two rough wooden shabtis. Unfortunately, no signs of any *rishi* coffins were found, as might have been expected. Around the chamber several linen fragments bearing chapters from the Book of the Dead were found.⁷⁹¹ One of these records the genealogy of the princess, who was the daughter of queen Satdjehuty and king Seqenenre Djehuty-aa.⁷⁹²

⁷⁸⁵ See Cat. **rT01Ry**.

⁷⁸⁶ See also N.C. REEVES, R.H. WILKINSON, *The Complete Valley of the Kings* (1996), p. 186-7.

⁷⁸⁷ H. CARTER, Report of work done in Upper Egypt (1903), p. 176-7.

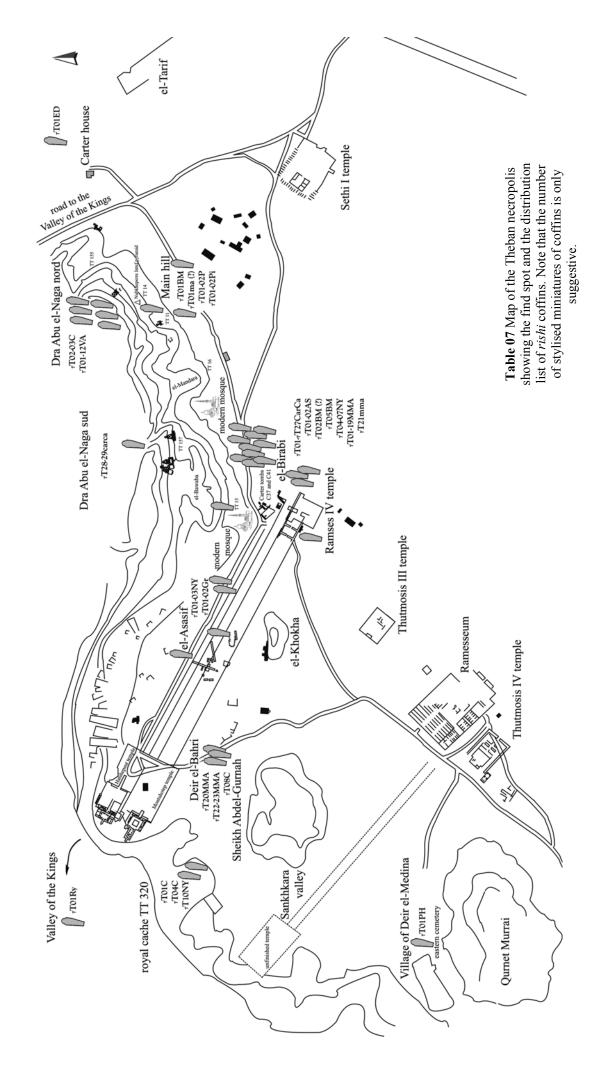
⁷⁸⁸ I am deeply indebted to Donald Ryan for sharing with me his results and providing me with information on these fragments and their excavation.

⁷⁸⁹ See PM I², 2, p. 775-6.

This may be one of the earliest datable example, *cf.* C.H. ROEHRIG, R. DREYFUS, C.A. KELLER (eds.), *Hatshepsut* (2005), p. 201, cat. no. 118.

⁷⁹¹ For the sequence of BD chapters in the shourds of Ahmes, see I. MUNRO, *Die Totenbuch-Handschriften der 18. Dynastie* (1994), p. 15.

⁷⁹² PM I², 2, p. 755; E. SCHIAPARELLI, *Esplorazione della "Valle delle Regine"* (1923), vol. I, p. 13-21, pls. 7-8.



Chapter 4

Timelines: the sequence of rishi coffins

Problems of methodology

Any attempt to create a clear chronological sequence in the production and use of *rishi* coffins is extremely complicated, since most lack any temporal information. More often than not, the space intended for the name, or even for the whole inscription, was left blank. When the name of the owner is attested prosopographical information is usually lacking; this is the reason why we are dealing in many cases with "perfect strangers". Furthermore, as pointed out by Vassalli, each *rishi* coffin differs from one another and it is quite impossible to find two identical examples.

The only precise way of dating this kind of coffin is when a royal name on the coffin or amongst items belonging to its funerary equipment is present. Even this method, however, is not absolutely infallible, since common errors and a failure to appreciate underlying motives behind the use of such apparently datable evidence can lead to imprecision some of which are insurmountable while others may require some adjustment.

First of all, the assumption that finding a king's name among the equipment confirms the dating of the burial is, in practice, not always an accurate system and in some instances can actually distort the evidence. The object included in the equipment can be a gift, an heirloom, or one reused from a former burial, or can be a prevailing archaism influenced by an old tradition. Nor does it represent beyond doubt the *terminus post quem* of an interment, since although the ancient Egyptians did not practice divination, the repeated opening of tombs allowed earlier and later object to enter different spaces. Moreover, the increase in the use of multiple burials introduced on a regular and larger scale during the Second Intermediate Period complicates any assessment of burials, because different goods jumbled together in one chamber become difficult to separate; an earlier object can be easily misinterpreted as part of later burial, and vice versa. The sequence of the sequence of

The difficulty of dating coffins is compounded because a reliable chronological sequence does not exist for most of the kings of the Second Intermediate Period, not even for the Theban rulers of the 17th dynasty. Generally speaking, it is only possible to establish a continuous and precise line from Sequenere Djehuty-aa onwards. The latter is followed by Kamose, then Ahmose, probably with a gap filled by the regency of his mother queen Ahhotep, 795 Amenhotep I and then Tuthmosis I running into the early 18th dynasty. 796 The relative succession of kings before Sequenere is unclear; the three Antef kings seem to float, together, but unanchored in the period immediately before. 797 Furthermore, the reigns of most of the Second Intermediate Period kings are extremely short and often the working life of an official buried in a *rishi* coffin would have spanned more than one king. The well-known biography of Ahmes son of Abana presents a clear example of the problem; Ahmes was born in the reign of Sequenere Djehuty-aa and his career developed (through the unmentioned short -?- reign of Kamose) under Ahmose, during whose reign Avaris was besieged, and ended with Tuthmosis I. 798

Nevertheless, unless evidence proves otherwise, I prefer to avoid the *lectio difficilior* and use the presence of royal names on a coffin or in its related burial equipment as a main factor in my chronological assessment. Therefore, it should be considered that the type of error based on this evidence would be effectively the same in every case and the only solution to avoid any possible imprecision would be to eliminate such a system entirely, and consequently this chapter! Without having at one's disposal a better way of investigating the evolution of the *rishi* coffin this remains the only possible approach at the moment.

⁷⁹³ See for instance the coffin of Amenemhat-seneb inscribed with the cartouche of Senusret II but datable to the reign of Amenemhat III, S. BOSTICCO, G. ROSATI, *Il sarcofago di Amenemhet-seneb* (2003), p. 15-52. *Cf.* F. TIRADRITTI, *Luigi Vassalli and the archaeological season at western Thebes* (2010), p. 336-40.

⁷⁹⁴ W. GRAJETZKI, *Multiple Burials* (2007), p. 16-34.

⁷⁹⁵ On the question of the identity of queen Ahhotep, see *infra* p. 123-4.

⁷⁹⁶ C. VANDERSLEYEN, *L'Egypte et la Vallée du Nil* (1995), vol. II, p. 189-200, 213-70.

⁷⁹⁷ See *supra* p. 21.

⁷⁹⁸ C. VANDERSLEYEN, Les guerres d'Amosis (1971), p. 17-133.

The chronological sequence

Flashback: Rishi Coffins in the Late Middle Kingdom

The last ruler before the group of Antef kings for whom we have reliable archaeological evidence is Awibre Hor, who lived in the 13th dynasty and was buried in a northern cemetery at Dahshur.⁷⁹⁹ The shape of his coffin



Fig. 117 Drawing of the coffin of king Awibre Hor, from J. de MORGAN, *Fouilles à Dahchour* (1895), fig. 221.

still belongs to the Middle Kingdom tradition, being made of wood and rectangular, partly gilded and bearing incomplete hieroglyphs in text columns on the long sides (see Fig. 117). Inside the coffin was the king's mummy with a mask over the head.⁸⁰⁰

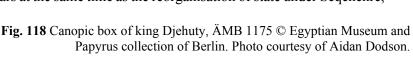
Unfortunately, there is no archaeological evidence for royal funerary equipment between the late 13th dynasty and the group of Antef kings. Only the canopic box belonging to the late 13th-early 17th dynasty king Djehuty and presented to his wife Mentuhotep has been preserved⁸⁰¹ (see Fig. 118). However, the coffin of the king has never been found and nothing more than a simple suggestion can be made here.

Nevertheless, the high officials of Theban society

in this historical phase continued to use rectangular coffins. The "overseer of marshland dwellers", "royal sealer" Senebni, 802 the "chief overseer of the army", eldest king's son Herunefer, 803 the "vizier" Amenemhat, 804 the "overseer of fields" Ibia, 805 and the queen Mentuhotep 806 were all buried

in rectangular coffins.

Before the rise of the Antef kings, not a single example of a *rishi* coffin is attested from the royal sphere or the innermost circle of the palace. Instead, at least two private *rishi* coffins from the middle range of wealthier burials, relating to the mid to high, but not highest, officialdom, seem to be earlier in date than any of the royal examples. The burial of the "accountant of the main enclosure" *sš n lint wr* Neferhotep found by Mariette at Dra Abu el-Naga seems to attest the first *rishi* coffin, ⁸⁰⁷ predating the use of this kind of coffin back to the early-mid 13th dynasty, in an area far from the royal network of that time. ⁸⁰⁸ The title borne by Neferhotep, "accountant of the Main Enclosure", which is not attested before the reign of Senusret III and disappears at the same time as the reorganisation of state under Seqenenre, ⁸⁰⁹





⁷⁹⁹ Following the Turin King list, king Hor can be dated to the early 13th dynasty (see Table. 02). The presence of his tomb in a Memphite cemetery and the use of incomplete hieroglyphs on his burial equipment furniture prevent his reign being placed late in the 13th dynasty. See *supra* p. 15.

⁸⁰⁰ J. de MORGAN, Fouilles à Dahchour (1895), p. 91, fig. 221, p. 99-102, pl. 36.

⁸⁰¹ See *supra* p. 20, 81-2.

⁸⁰² O.D. BERLEV, A contemporary of King Sewah-en-Re (1974), p. 106-13, pls. 26-8; see supra p. 17-9.

⁸⁰³ R. PARKINSON, S. QUIRKE, *The Coffin of Prince Herunefer* (1992), p. 37-51.

⁸⁰⁴ M.B. Bruyère, Rapport sur les fouilles de Deir el-Médineh (1930), p. 100-6, figs. 46-9; see supra p. 10-1.

⁸⁰⁵ PM I², 2, p. 654.

⁸⁰⁶ C. GEISEN, Die Totentexte des verschollenen Sarges der Königin Mentuhotep (2004); see supra p. 19-20.

⁸⁰⁷ See Cat. *r***T01ma**.

⁸⁰⁸ G. MINIACI, S. QUIRKE, Mariette at Dra Abu el-Naga and the tomb of Neferhotep (2008), p. 24; see supra p. 15, 74.

⁸⁰⁹ S. QUIRKE, *State and Labour* (1988), p. 102.

the presence in the accountancy papyri found in his tomb of two partly broken cartouches of a king named Sobekhotep and the name of the vizier Ankhu, 810 and the recent reassessment of the whole burial assemblage, 811 indicates a definitive late Middle Kingdom date of the early to mid 13th dynasty. Unfortunately, as already stated, the coffin of Neferhotep was not recovered by Mariette and it is not possible to obtain any further information about its typology.

The *rishi* coffin of the "overseer of the city" *imy-r niwt* Iuy⁸¹² found by Winlock during his excavations in the Asasif might be the second example of an earlier *rishi* coffin, preceding the Antef group.⁸¹³ The wooden statue⁸¹⁴ (see Fig. 119) found with the coffin closely resembles in style and design another belonging to the "reporter in Thebes" *whmw m W3st* Sobekemsaf,⁸¹⁵ which is datable under Sobekhotep IV or shortly after.⁸¹⁶ Moreover, a duck vase (see Fig. 120) found amongst the grave goods of Iuy can be paralleled with a similar vase fragment coming from shaft tomb no. 907 at Lisht.⁸¹⁷ This tomb experienced at least two phases of occupation, one during the late 12th dynasty and another during the



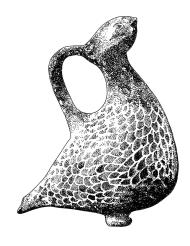


Fig. 119 (left) Wooden statue belonging to the "overseer of the city" Iuy. Drawing by P. Whelan.

Fig. 120 (right) Duck vase found amongst the grave goods of the "overseer of the city" Iuy. Drawing by P. Whelan.

13th dynasty, indicated by the discovery of objects such as ivory wands, a fertility figurine, and faience statuettes of animals and a dwarf.⁸¹⁸ Also found among the finds was a scarab of Merneferre Ay, the last king of the 13th dynasty who is still attested in both the north and south of Egypt.⁸¹⁹ The Lisht burial group can provide a closer date parallel for the burial of Iuy.

The title bore by Iuy, "overseer of the city", was usually combined with the regular title of "vizier" 13ty, 820 but in this context it is not coupled with the latter. This could indicate that the title of "overseer of the city" underwent a reclassification, no longer functioning on a national level, but reflecting a position of localised authority restricted to within a province. 821 Again, one of the earliest documented *rishi* coffins belonged to the local middle class far from the power centre. Unfortunately, this coffin was again found in fragments and was not recorded by the excavators, which is the reason why it is impossible to establish any distinctive feature to this early phase in the evolution of the *rishi* coffin.

The Hyksos Period

An anonymous *rishi* coffin⁸²² coming from Vassalli's excavations at Dra Abu el-Naga north was associated with a scarab bearing a group of signs reading k^c -k3- r^c .⁸²³ The coffin does not seem to belong to a multiple burial

⁸¹⁰ S. QUIRKE, The Administration (1990), p. 10-3.

⁸¹¹ G. MINIACI, S. QUIRKE, Reconceiving the Tomb in the Late Middle Kingdom (2009), p. 339-83.

⁸¹² See Cat. *r***T23mma**. See *supra* p. 107-8.

⁸¹³ H.E. WINLOCK, The Egyptian Expedition 1922-1923 (1923), p. 31.

⁸¹⁴ W.C. HAYES, *The Scepter of Egypt* (1959), vol. II, fig. 27.

⁸¹⁵ E. von BERGMANN, Jahrbuch des Kunsthistorischen Sammlung (1981), figs. 1-4, pls. 1-2.

⁸¹⁶ A. SPALINGER, Remarks on the Family of Queen h^c.s-nbw (1980), p. 98-9; J. von BECKERATH, Untersuchungen zur politischen Geschichte (1964), p. 174-5.

⁸¹⁷ J. BOURRIAU, *The Dolphin Vase from Lisht* (1996), vol. I, p. 106.

⁸¹⁸ J. BOURRIAU, The relative chronology of the Second Intermediate Period (2010), p. 16.

⁸¹⁹ J. von BECKERATH, Untersuchungen zur politischen Geschichte (1964), p. 251-2.

⁸²⁰ W. GRAJETZKI, Court Officials (2009), p. 19-20.

⁸²¹ S. QUIRKE, *Titles and bureaux* (2004), p. 111.

⁸²² See Cat. *r*T06va.

⁸²³ Cairo Museum, JE 21385. See *supra* p. 61.

since it was registered without any additional excavated material. Following the datable categories of hieroglyph inscribed scarabs proposed by Quirke, phrase scarabs would be absent from the late Middle Kingdom scarab corpus, ⁸²⁴ being typical of a later phase beginning in the reigns of Hatshepsut-Tuthmosis III when *rishi* coffins are sporadically if never attested. A plausible explanation would be to render the signs as the throne-name of a 14th dynasty king, called Khakare, listed in the column 9/line 24 of the Turin king-list. ⁸²⁵ If so, it may attest a Theban *rishi* coffin belonging to the 14th dynasty.

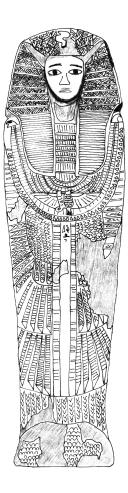
In one of his notes, Winlock recorded one *rishi* burial found by Lansing at Deir el-Bahri associated with a scarab inscribed with the prenomen of king Sheshi, Maaibre, 826 who currently is identified as one of the Second Intermediate Period foreign rulers at Avaris. 827 Unfortunately, the *rishi* coffin is not preserved and the disputed of the position of king Sheshi between the 14th and the 15th dynasties remains unsolved. 828

The Late 17th Dynasty: the Antef Kings

The first firmly dated and preserved examples of *rishi* coffins belong to the kings Nubkheperre Antef,⁸²⁹ Sekhemre Wepmaat Antef,⁸³⁰ and Sekhemre Heruhirmaat Antef.⁸³¹ As already stated, at present it is not possible to arrive at a correct temporal sequence for these three kings within the 17th dynasty.

The only assumption we can make comes from the inscription on the lid of Wepmaat Antef's coffin which indicates that he preceded another king called Antef, most probably Nubkheperre Antef.832 Moreover, the recurrent features of the two royal *rishi* coffins also point toward a close link between these two kings. Both coffin lids are entirely covered with gold leaf on a thin base of gesso. For Nubkheperre Antef's coffin we have the additional information that it is made from sycamore fig wood, whereas we are lacking specific information on the wood used for the coffin of Wepmaat Antef. Both headdresses are modelled as the royal nms-headdress, embellished with stylised feathers on the upper part and by thin, simple horizontal stripes on the lower lappets. A uraeus serpent was originally attached to the brow of Nubkheperre Antef's coffin, but is now missing, whereas the rear part of the cobra is still present on the headdress of Wepmaat Antef. The chest of both coffins is decorated with the usual wsh-collar and the representation of a vulture with outstretched wings and a cobra. 833 The feathers along the body are divided into the usual three layers, but while the dado of Nubkheperre Antef is patterned by spherical and barrel shaped beads arranged in a net-pattern design (see Fig. 33.b), the coffin of Wepmaat Antef is decorated

with another stylised feather layer. Extending down the centre of both lids from collar to ankle is a single line of hieroglyphic text giving the name of the owner and a funerary formula from the pyramidion spells, but only the text on the coffin of Nubkheperre Antef is written with the



⁸²⁴ S. QUIRKE, *Identifying the officials of the Fifteenth Dynasty* (2004), p. 174. *Cf.* C. von PILGRIM, *Elephantine XVIII*. (1996), p. 242, fig. 98, no. 82, 267, fig. 117.

See K.S.B. RYHOLT, *The Political Situation* (1997), p. 380, *Catalogue of Attestations* File 14/30. Following Francesco Tiradritti in *Luigi Vassalli and the archaeological season at western Thebes* (2010), p. 334, the king's name could be interpreted as the prenomen of Senusret III, emending $h^c-k^3-r^c$ in $h^c-k^3-r^c$.

⁸²⁶ See Cat. **rT21mma**. H.E. WINLOCK, *The tombs of the kings of the seventeenth dynasty* (1924), p. 218, n. 7. See also W.C. HAYES, *The Scepter of Egypt* (1959), vol. II, p. 5.

⁸²⁷ K.S.B. RYHOLT, The Political Situation (1997), p. 198-9, 366-76, Catalogue of Attestations File 14/06.

⁸²⁸ See S. Allen in D. BEN-TOR, S.J. ALLEN, J.P. ALLEN, Seals and Kings (1999), p. 55-8. D. BEN-TOR, Scarabs, Chronology, and Interconnections (2007), p. 47-8.

⁸²⁹ See Cat. **rT01BM**.

⁸³⁰ See Cat. **rT01P**.

⁸³¹ See Cat. *r*T02P.

⁸³² See *supra* p. 21.

⁸³³ The decoration on Nubkheperre's coffin is mostly destroyed and the cobra beside the vulture body is no longer visible, although its presence may be highly plausible by analogy with the coffin of Wepmaat Antef.

system of incomplete hieroglyphs. The column of inscription is flanked on both coffins by two vertical ornamental frames of a repeated multicoloured block pattern. Only for the coffin of Nubkheperre Antef it is possible to appreciate the design beneath the foot end, in which the figures of the two goddesses Isis and Nephthys are carved in a gesture of lamentation. A column of inscription between them contains their speech. Apart from a slightly tapering shape and lack of incomplete hieroglyphs in the inscriptions of Wepmaat Antef's coffin, the two coffins are virtually identical (see Fig. 121). However, it must taken into account that the inscription on a canopic box belonging to king Wepmaat Antef⁸³⁴ includes incomplete hieroglyphs⁸³⁵ (see Pl. 8.b). The third remaining royal coffin, that of king Heruhirmaat Antef⁸³⁶ (see Fig. 147), follows the style of the two other royal coffins, but is more modestly accomplished and displays additional archaic details such as the absence of the vulture and cobra pectoral, a blackened face and the absence of any decoration in the lowest layer except for a few feathers on the frontal segment.⁸³⁷

The Koptos decree of Nubkheperre Antef seems to assign his reign to a period in which royal power of the Thebaid was coming to the fore, 838 strengthening the impression that he belongs to a later, though not terminal, phase in the late 17th dynasty.

Private Origins of the Rishi Coffin (?)

Despite the fact that at the forefront of documented archaeological tradition the first *rishi* coffins are royal examples, they do not seem to be the *true* prototypes. First of all, private examples were already attested long before the Antef kings, and they belonged to individuals who were outside of the royal entourage. However, this evidence could simply be the result of incompleteness in the surviving sources. Nevertheless, there are more specific reasons to suppose that the *rishi* coffin style originated from the middle classes and long before it was adopted by royalty.

By the time Theban kings had decided to adopt the *rishi* coffin for their burials, the *rishi* type was already well developed and standardised. It is remarkable that amongst the private examples an evolution from the simplest to the standard forms and then to the more elaborate type can be seen, whereas in the royal coffins the early developmental phases are lacking and only the later ones are visible. The coffin styles of Nubkheperre Antef and Wepmaat Antef already belong to the middle phase of *rishi* evolution, and this royal design would not significantly change until the end of the 17th dynasty. The coffin of king Seqenenre Djehuty-aa follows the earlier style, even though it has some slight differences. ⁸³⁹ On the lid of the coffin, although originally decorated with gold leaf and now simply covered by white gesso where the gold was stripped off, the feather pattern is still visible in a few places. ⁸⁴⁰ Only with the beginning of the 18th dynasty, from the reign of Nebpehetyre Ahmose onwards, a significant modification of the *rishi* pattern would be recognisable, gradually evolving into a still feathered coffin but no longer belonging to the original *rishi* design.

Furthermore, it may be noted that the first royal *rishi* coffins closely follow/imitate the typical decorative patterns of contemporary private examples, although reproducing it in gold leaf. Such patterns only make sense if applied in paint with their details outlined in colour, and not in the monochrome surface of gold leaf where, for example, the vertical ornamental frames disappear in the royal example from Ahmose onwards, but still persist in the earlier royal coffins (see Fig. 123).

⁸³⁴ Louvre E. 2538 [former no. 419], H.E. WINLOCK, *The tombs of the kings of the seventeenth dynasty* (1924), p. 234-6; B. LÜSCHER, *Untersuchungen zu ägyptischen Kanopenkästen* (1990), p. 65; A. DODSON, *The Canopic Equipment* (1994), p. 37-40, 117-8, 150-1, pls. 12-3 [no. 25].

⁸³⁵ G. MINIACI, The incomplete hieroglyphs (2010), p. 131-3. See also infra p. 132-3.

⁸³⁶ Cat. **rT02P**.

⁸³⁷ See *infra* p. 141.

⁸³⁸ W.M.F. PETRIE, *Koptos* (1896), pl. 8; E. MARTIN-PARDEY, *Zum Koptosdekret Antef V.* (1990), p. 185-97. Translation and comment in D.B. REDFORD, *Textual Sources for the Hyksos Period* (1997), p. 10-1.

⁸³⁹ See Cat. *r***T01C**.

⁸⁴⁰ The surface of the coffin was completely painted in yellow after the robbers scraped off the gold from its surface. Since some areas were left gilded, such as the original inscription on the foot side or the royal insignia, it has been argued that it was ancient priests who were responsible for such actions, and who devotedly recopied even the inscription on the vertical band with red ink.

royalty

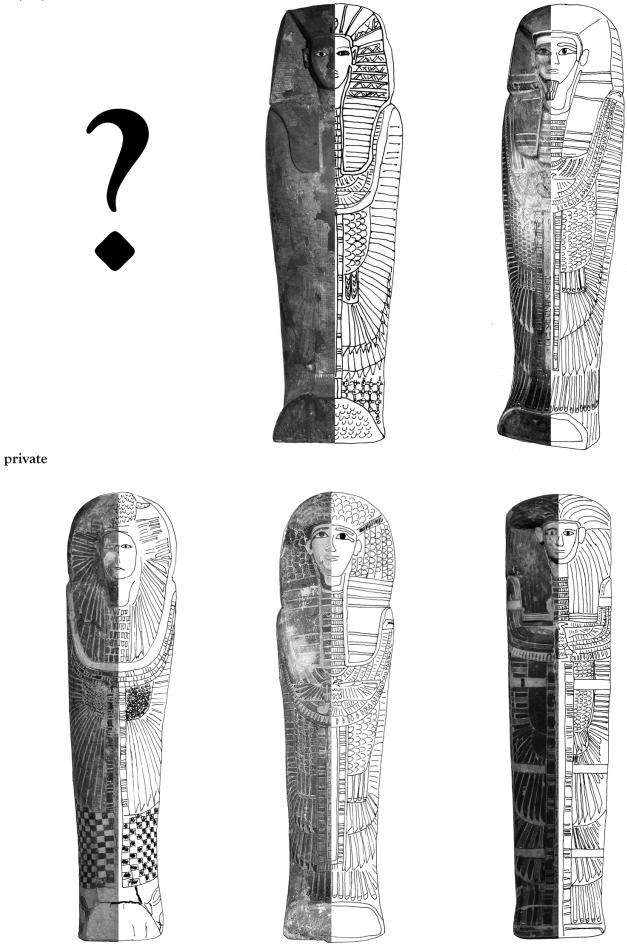


Fig. 122 The different development phases of the *rishi* coffin type, following the royal (on the top) and private (on the bottom) evolution, from the earlier (on the left) to later (on the right) examples. From the top left to the bottom right, Cat. *r*T01BM, *r*T03C, *r*X01Lei, *r*T03NY, *r*T05BM.





Fig. 123 Details from the coffins of king Nubkheperre Antef, Cat. *r***T01BM** (left) and anonymous coffin Cat. *r***T08C** (right). Photos by G. Miniaci.

Moreover, at least two kings of the 17th dynasty, Heruhirmaat Antef and Kamose,841 used a private coffin for their burials. In the case of Kamose, the use of a non-royal coffin was probably due to a hasty burial, perhaps because the Hyksos war was raging and because part of his name is clearly missing in the space intended for inscriptions. The private coffin of Antef Heruhirmaat, instead, was undoubtedly made specifically for the king, for not only was his name included in the religious formula, 842 which was not usually the trend for private coffins, but also fixed over the headdress was the royal uraeus. The inscription on the collar recording his throne name Heruhirmaat, was not there due to lack of space in the vertical column, as suggested by Winlock, but probably due to a desire to emphasise the identity of the king as a result of his reburial or to make it clearer for an inspection or simply an omission during the

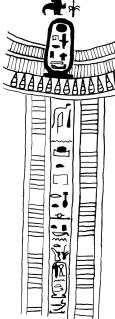
writing of the formula over the chest⁸⁴³ (see Fig. 124). In this case, however, we are not dealing with a hasty burial, even though the coffin is a modest example. Consequently, it can be suggested that the first royal *rishi* coffins were based on private examples that had already developed into their standard form.⁸⁴⁴

The Late 17th Dynasty: Reign of Sequence Djehuty-aa

The *rishi* coffin of Hornakht belongs to the later end of the 17th dynasty, 845 dated by a throw-stick found amongst his grave goods inscribed with the name and titles of the "king's son" *s3 nswt* Tjuju and the cartouche of king Seqenenre Djehuty-aa. 846 The name of the king gives only the *terminus post quem* for the burial and not necessarily the date of its deposition. In a recent reassessment of this funerary equipment Tiradritti has convincingly proposed the identification of the governor Minemhat mentioned on the cartouche shaped box from the tomb with the like-named governor of Koptos named in the Koptos Decree of king Nubkheperre Antef, and the governor Sobeknakht mentioned on a cosmetic spoon with the

governor of Hierakonpolis of the same name inscribed on a vase found in Tumulus KIII at Kerma. As Vivian Davies has suggested, the find spot of the vase could be evidence of the hostile Egypto-Kushite relations during the latter phase of the 17th dynasty. Also Taking this information into account, the date proposed for the burial of Hornakht around the reign of Sequenerre or slightly later seems the more appropriate.

Fig. 124 Detail from the coffin of king Sekhemre Heruhirmaat Antef, Cat. *r***T02P**. Drawing by G. Miniaci.



⁸⁴¹ See Cat. rT02P and rT03C.

The formula belongs to the short sentences pronounced by the gods and derives from the pyramidion spells, H. WILLEMS, *Chests of Life* (1988), p. 168 f. Following Grajetzki, the formula *dd mdw in 3ht nfr htp.kwi n N hr.s mr.n.(i)* is attested mainly on the late Middle Kingdom coffins, as in Da2-3C, Da6X, S3, T3Be, T7C, W. GRAJETZKI, *Bemerkungen zu einigen Spruchtypen* (1998), p. 35. The sarcophagus of Amenemhat-Seneb in Museo Archeologico of Florence has part of the Heruhirmaat Antef formula. This coffin dates to the late 12th dynasty, probably the reign of Amenemhat III, see S. BOSTICCO, G. ROSATI, *Il sarcofago di Amenemhet-seneb* (2003), p. 22-4, 36-9. On the funerary formulae on three of the Antef kings coffins, see S. BIRCH, *On formulas of three royal coffins* (1869), p. 45-53.

⁸⁴³ H.E. WINLOCK, The tombs of the kings of the seventeenth dynasty (1924), p. 267.

⁸⁴⁴ I am well aware that a future discovery of a royal *rishi* coffin dating to earlier than the late 13th dynasty would render this hypothesis redundant, but I prefer to build my hypothesis on the foundations of actual archaeological evidence currently available.

⁸⁴⁵ See Cat. **rT01VA**.

⁸⁴⁶ A. MARIETTE, *Monuments divers* (1892), p. 16, pl. 51. See *supra*, p. 58.

⁸⁴⁷ See *supra* p. 58-9 and Fig. 54.

⁸⁴⁸ W.V. DAVIES, Kouch en Égypte (2003), p. 44; W.V. DAVIES, Sobeknakht of Elkab (2003), p. 6.

⁸⁴⁹ F. TIRADRITTI, Luigi Vassalli and the archaeological season at western Thebes (2010), p. 339.

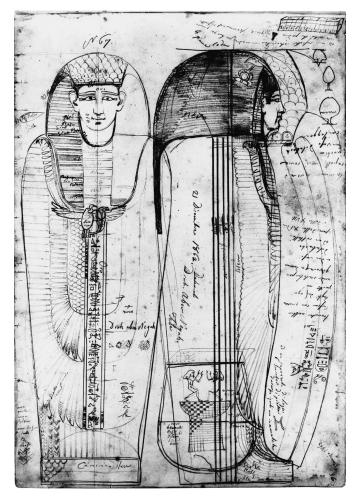


Fig. 125 The coffin of Hornakht as drawn by Luigi Vassalli in his Album di Disegni, AV f. 36r © Civica Biblioteca d'Arte di Milano - Fondo Luigi Vassalli, Album H 2.

His coffin belongs to an unusual *rishi* type, partially painted and partially gilded, with the feathers of the head, face, and the inscription down the lid in raised relief and gilded. The nms-headdress shows a feathered decoration only on its upper part, while the remainder is adorned with the usual horizontal stripes. The body of the coffin is entirely covered by naturalistic feathers and the front panel of the foot board has short feathers painted in pale blue-grey850 (see Fig. 125). It is noteworthy that the cosmetic spoon inscribed with the name of Sobeknakht belonging to Hornakht's grave goods is decorated with a recurrent motif on rishi coffins of the period, with alternating *dd*-pillar and *tit*-knot signs⁸⁵¹ (see Fig. 54).

The coffin of Satdjehuty, called Satibu, can be more precisely dated to the reign of Segenenre Diehuty-aa, since an inscription inside the upper part of her coffin bears her genealogy.852 She is the king's daughter, and king's sister born of queen Tetisheri.853 The latter filiation is known from mummy wrappings found in the royal *cache*⁸⁵⁴ and from the small temple complex at Abydos dedicated to her

by king Ahmose⁸⁵⁵ who refers to her in a statue inscription as "the mother of his mother" and "the mother of his father".856 Being that king Ahmose would be the son of king Segenenre Djehuty-aa,857 the chronological correspondence is automatically mapped out, placing princess Satdjehuty during the reign of the penultimate king of the 17th dynasty. Moreover, some linen fragments found in a tomb in the Valley of the Queens belonging to a princess



Fig. 126 The inner part of a fragment from the coffin of Satdjehuty, Cat. rX01ÄS.

126). The headdress displays the features of the typical hathoric wig, with shorter feathers surrounding the

called Ahmes clearly state that queen Satdjehuty was one of the wives of king Segenenre Djehuty-aa. 858 Unfortunately, the provenance of the coffin is unknown and nowadays only its face, the upper part of the headdress and some scattered fragments have been

preserved. The outer part of the coffin is completely covered with gold leaf, while the

inner part is covered by a thin smoothed layer of plaster used as surface to carry spells

124, 83, 84, and 85 of the Book of the Dead written in cursive hieroglyphs (see Fig.

⁸⁵⁰ AV f. 36r, with the indication of the different colorings of the coffin.

⁸⁵¹ MARIETTE A., Monuments divers (1892), pl. 51.k.

⁸⁵² A. GRIMM, S. SCHOSKE, *Im Zeichen des Mondes* (1999), p. 2, 92, cat. no. 1. See Cat. **rX01ÄS**.

⁸⁵³ On queen Tetisheri, see L. TROY, Patterns of Queenship (1986), p. 161, no. 18.1 and H.E. WINLOCK, On queen Tetisheri (1921), p. 14-6. See also W.V. DAVIES, The statuette of Queen Tetisheri (1984); W.V. DAVIES, Queen Tetisheri reconsidered (1991), p. 55-62.

⁸⁵⁴ See N.C. REEVES, Valley of the Kings. The decline of a royal necropolis (1990), p. 203, no. 49. M.G. DARESSY, Parents de la reine Teta-chera (1908), p. 137-8.

⁸⁵⁵ S. HARVEY, King Hegatawy (2007), p. 343-56; S. HARVEY, New Evidence at Abydos (2004), p. 3-6.

⁸⁵⁶ Stele CG 34002; PM V, p. 92. Text in Urk. IV, 26-29. See also B. MANLEY, Some images of the king and queen (2002), p. 42-3 and pl. 2.

⁸⁵⁷ The only clearly stated genealogy concerns a prince called Ahmes, who Vandersleven tentatively identifies with prince Ahmes Sapair, known by a statue in the Louvre Museum, see C. VANDERSLEYEN, L'Égypte et la Vallée du Nil (1995), vol. II, p. 191. See also C. VANDERSLEYEN, *Iahmès Sapaïr* (2005). In the inscription on this statue Ahhotep, the mother of the future king Ahmose, is clearly the wife of Sequenere Djehuty-aa, thus completing the missing geneaology, see C. VANDERSLEYEN, Une stèle de l'an 18 d'Amosis (1977), p. 223-44.

⁸⁵⁸ E. SCHIAPARELLI, Esplorazione della "Valle delle Regine" (1923), vol. I, p. 15, pls. 7-8; see supra p. 112.

upper part of the forehead and having two registers of long feathers behind them which are joined on the back of the head by some dark blue painted vertical bands. The back of the headdress ends with a vulture's body and tail with its hind legs splayed and each claw holding a *šn*-sign. The general layout of the headdress does not support a reconstruction of the lower lappets of a *nms*-headdress but of curled braids. 859

Also dated to the reign of Sequenere Djehuty-aa is the coffin of queen Ahhotep found at Dra Abu el-Naga. Since the existence of two coffins belonging to a queen called Ahhotep has generated considerable literature about the number of the queens bearing this name and the ownership of the coffins, a reassessment of the question is due.

The coffin found at Dra Abu el-Naga by Mariette's workers and bearing the inventory number JE 28501 belongs to a queen Ahhotep with the following titles:

a.

"great king's wife" hmt nswt wrt
"the associate of the white crown bearer" hnmt nfr
hdt⁸⁶¹

One of the queens called Ahhotep known in historical inscriptions of the early 18th dynasty is the mother of king Ahmose.862 However, the absence of the title "king's mother" on the coffin found at Dra Abu el-Naga would seem to preclude the identification of this queen with the mother of Ahmose. Moreover, the writing of her name with the upturned crescent moon sign was the convention used before year 17 of king Ahmose.863 Furthermore, the lid decoration of the coffin closely resembles the pattern also used on those of the 17th dynasty kings. As with other examples of royal rishi coffins, that of Ahhotep is completely covered by a thin, greenish-yellow gold leaf, having the wsh-collar over the chest, the vulture and cobra, block design flanking the vertical inscription column, and has similar facial features, with inlaid eyes and marked physical features, and displays the kneeling figures of Isis and Nephthys below the base. The analogies are even closer with the coffin of Segenenre, sharing the same inversion in the orthography of the Ptah-Sokar-Osiris formula, as well as displaying similar workmanship and using the same species of wood – cedar – in its manufacture.864

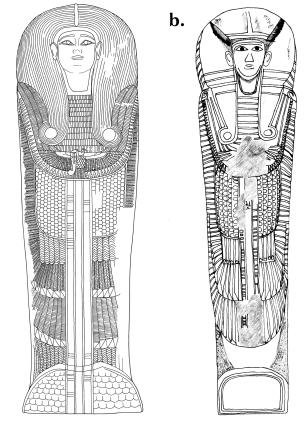


Fig. 127 Two female coffins of the late 17th dynasty (a) coffin of queen Ahhotep, Cat. *r***T02C**; (b) coffin of the "royal ornament" Teti, Cat. *r***T06NY**. Drawings by P. Whelan/G. Miniaci.

Moreover, the style of Ahhotep's coffin is arranged following the standard *rishi* pattern, with feathers distributed in the usual four registers. However, some discrepancies from the other royal coffins, mainly due to the different gender of the coffin owner, can be noted. Mostly, Ahhotep's coffin does not show the usual *nms*- or feathered headdress but adopts a hathoric wig (see Fig. 127.a).

⁸⁵⁹ A. GRIMM, S. SCHOSKE, *Im Zeichen des Mondes* (1999), p. 12-6. Recontruction in fig. 16.

⁸⁶⁰ See Cat. *r*T02C.

⁸⁶¹ On this title see V.G. CALLENDER, *A note on the Title hnmt nfr hdt* (1995), p. 43-6 and L.K. SABBAHY, *Comments on the Title hnmt-nfr-hdt* (1996), p. 349-52.

⁸⁶² C. VANDERSLEYEN, L'Égypte et la Vallée du Nil (1995), vol. II, p. 218-20.

⁸⁶³ C. VANDERSLEYEN, Les guerres d'Amosis (1971), p. 205-28.

⁸⁶⁴ H.E. WINLOCK, *The tombs of the kings of the seventeenth dynasty* (1924), p. 251, n. 5 and M. EATON-KRAUSS, *The coffins of Queen Ahhotep* (1990), p. 200-1.

In 1881 in the Deir el-Bahri *cache* Maspero found another coffin, recorded under the inventory number CG 61006,865 which belonged to a queen Ahhotep bearing the followings titles:

The additional titles could indicate that this is a different queen Ahhotep or belonged to the same queen Ahhotep, who owned coffin JE 28501, but from a later stage in her life accumulating further titles. However, coffin CG 61006 does not belong to the original *rishi* type, but closely resembles the coffins made for Ahmes Merytamun⁸⁶⁷ and Ahmes Nefertari,⁸⁶⁸ even though it should be placed at the head of this small group as their prototype.⁸⁶⁹ Its *rishi* design occupies only the lower part of the body, interrupted by the modelling of the crossed arms over the chest, and is rendered in a vividly naturalistic way with diagonally crossed wings. The headdress is neither the *nms*-headdress pattern nor the hathoric wig, but the front lappets fall straight from the forehead (see Fig. 128).

In conclusion, what clearly emerges in this analysis is that the coffin found at Dra Abu el-Naga is a product consistent with 17th dynasty culture which was no longer produced after king Seqenenre's coffin. In contrast, the style and the decoration of the coffin from the royal *cache* TT 320 are datable to the 18th dynasty when the vogue in the production of royal coffins changed completely and the classic *rishi* pattern had already been abandoned on those belonging to the royal entourage. This kind of coffin fits well with the time of a 17th dynasty queen Ahhotep, wife of Seqenenre Djehuty-aa and mother of Ahmes Nebpehetyre, who survived them both and was buried in the reign of Amenhotep I⁸⁷⁰ or even later, during the reign of Tuthmosis I.⁸⁷¹

While the previous observations do not resolve the question of Ahhotep's identity,⁸⁷² they do show that the workmanship and the features of the coffin of Ahhotep found at Dra Abu el-Naga are very similar to those of 17th dynasty kings, and above all to that of Seqenenre Djehuty-aa. This does not mean necessarily that this queen Ahhotep is strictly connected with Seqenenre, identifying her as his wife, but simply that the production of their coffins is quite contemporary. Consequently we can assume that the coffin found at Dra Abu el-Naga dates to the late 17th-very early 18th dynasty, because of the presence inside the coffin of some items bearing the name of king Ahmose, all of which can be dated on paleographic grounds to no later than his 17th regnal year.⁸⁷³



Fig. 128 Coffin of queen Ahhotep from the Deir el-Bahri cache, from M.G. DARESSY, Cercueils des cachettes royales (1909), pl. 9 centre.

[&]quot;great king's wife" hmt nswt wrt

[&]quot;the associate of the white crown bearer" hnmt nfr hdt

[&]quot;king's mother" mwt nswt

[&]quot;king's daughter" s3t nswt

[&]quot;great king's wife" snt nswt866

⁸⁶⁵ M.G. DARESSY, Cercueils des cachettes royales (1909), p. 8-9.

⁸⁶⁶ W. GRAJETZKI, Ancient Egyptian queens (2005), p. 49.

⁸⁶⁷ H.E. WINLOCK, The tomb of queen Meryet-Amun (1932), JE 53140.

⁸⁶⁸ M.G. DARESSY, Cercueils des cachettes royales (1909), p. 3-4, CG 61003.

⁸⁶⁹ A. MACY ROTH, The Ahhotep Coffins (1999), p. 366-8.

⁸⁷⁰ Stela of Kares, CG 34003, see PM I², 2, p. 613, M.P. LACAU, Stèles du nouvel empire (1909), p. 7-9, pl. 4.

⁸⁷¹ Stela of Iwf, CG 34009, see PM V, p. 203. M.P. LACAU, Stèles du nouvel empire (1909), p. 16-7, pl. 6.

⁸⁷² On this see A. MACY ROTH, Ahhotep I and Ahhotep II (1977/78), p. 31-40; B. SCHMITZ, Untersuchungen zu zwei Königinnen der frühen 18. Dynastie (1978), p. 207-20; C. VANDERSLEYEN, Les deux Ahhotep (1980), p. 237-41; G. ROBINS, Ahhotep I, II and III (1982), p. 71-7; M. EATON-KRAUSS, The coffins of Queen Ahhotep (1990), p. 195-205; A. MACY ROTH, The Ahhotep Coffins (1999), p. 361-77.

⁸⁷³ See C. VANDERSLEYEN, Les guerres d'Amosis (1971), p. 205-28.

The Late 17th Dynasty: Reign of Kamose

The last *rishi* coffin that can be dated with certainty to the 17th dynasty belongs to king Kamose.⁸⁷⁴ It appears to belong to the standard type. The most remarkably features are the absence of feather decoration from the frontal view of the headdress, adopting instead the simple *nms*-headcloth, and the resumption of the use of incomplete hieroglyphs for the inscription, contrasting the other previous royal examples which already seem to have abandoned this practice.⁸⁷⁵ However, traces of this custom are still visible in royal contexts of the early 18th dynasty, whereas it had almost completely disappeared from the private sphere.⁸⁷⁶ The *s3* sign in an inscription on a standing sandstone Osiris statue of king Amenhotep I buried in a shallow grave at Asasif is legless,⁸⁷⁷ while a limestone shabti statuette dedicated by a man Ahmes, in outward appearance imitating the royal examples of the 18th dynasty, bears (or copies?) a formula partially composed of incomplete signs.⁸⁷⁸

The Early 18th Dynasty: Reign of Ahmose

The coffin of the "royal ornament" Teti, no. 62/47.17, which was found in tomb no. 47 opening from the courtyard of the burial complex C 62, belongs to the standard *rishi* type.⁸⁷⁹ Nevertheless, the shape of its headdress differs to others, since where the usual *nms*-lappets terminate at shoulder level, here they take on the appearance of a hathoric wig, ending in spiral scrolls above the breast (see Fig. 152). This would be the first

example of a private rishi belonging to a woman and shown as a female, even though the elements are slightly confused. In this phase of Egyptian history, royal influence was gradually increasing in the private sphere, and the style adopted for Teti's coffin could have originated from a royal tradition, perhaps inspired by the innovative coffin of queen Ahhotep. However, the design of Teti's coffin still bears influences from the previous tradition, employing a nms-headdress, albeit in an adapted form. The presence of a plaque bearing the cartouche of Ahmose (see Fig. 93) found in the chamber provides approximate date for the appearance of this innovation.880

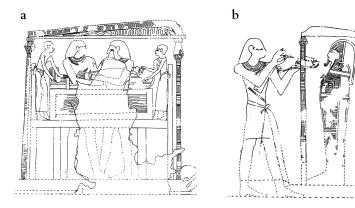


Fig. 129 Scenes from Tetiky's chapel (TT 15); (a) the scene shows the anthropoid coffin of Tetiky on top of a rectangular one; (b) the scene shows the decoration on Tetiky's *rishi* coffin, from N. de Garis DAVIES, *The Tomb of Tetaky* (1925), pl. 5.

The coffin depicted among the scenes of Tetiky's chapel distinctly shows the feather decoration typical the *rishi* type.⁸⁸¹ Moreover, three horizontal stripes cross the lid and overlay the feather decoration⁸⁸² (see Fig. 129). In another scene the *rishi* coffin of Tetiky is shown upon a rectangular chest as though it was its anthropoid inner counterpart.⁸⁸³ The chapel of Tetiky is dated approximately to the reign of Ahmose,⁸⁸⁴ since one of the

⁸⁷⁴ See Cat. **rT03C**.

⁸⁷⁵ *Cf.* Sekhemre Wepmaat Antef (Cat. *r*T01P), Sekhemre Heruhirmaat (*r*T02P), Sequenere Djehuty-aa (over the foot base where the original inscription has been preserved- Cat. *r*T01C), Ahhotep (Cat. *r*T02C) coffins.

⁸⁷⁶ See infra p. 132-3. See also G. MINIACI, The incomplete hieroglyphs (2010), n. 88.

⁸⁷⁷ Z.E. SZAFRANSKI, Buried statues of Mentuhotep II Nebhepetra and Amenophis I (1985), p. 261, fig. 2.1.

⁸⁷⁸ O.D. BERLEV, S. HODJASH, Catalogue (1998), p. 81-2, pl. 106 (VII A.2.1-3).

⁸⁷⁹ See Cat. **rT06NY**.

⁸⁸⁰ See *supra* p. 95.

⁸⁸¹ See Cat. **rT08CarCa**. N. de Garis DAVIES, *The tomb of Tetaky* (1925), pl. 5; Earl of CARNARVON, H. CARTER, *Five Years' Explorations at Thebes* (1912), pls. VII.1, VIII.2.

⁸⁸² C. BARBOTIN, Ahmosis (2008), colour pl. 4.

N. de Garis DAVIES, *The tomb of Tetaky* (1925), p. 16-7, pl. 5; *Cf.* Earl of CARNARVON, H. CARTER, *Five Years' Explorations at Thebes* (1912), pls. 7-9.

⁸⁸⁴ M. EATON-KRAUSS, Four notes (1988), p. 205.

female relatives of Tetiky was the royal nurse of queen Ahmes Nefertari. Furthermore, Ahmes Nefertari is represented amongst the scenes of the chapel and unusually shown with white skin, a feature usually not attested in any later posthumous representations, and given the appellation "may she live forever" 'nh.ty dt, which most likely indicates the contemporaneity of the paintings and the period in which Ahmes Nefertari was acting as queen. This confirms that *rishi* coffins were still in use for private individuals during the reign of Ahmose, although showing some changing features, such as crossed bands overlying the feather pattern.

The Early 18th Dynasty: Reigns of Amenhotep I and Tuthmosis I

The coffin of the "royal nurse" mn^ct Rai found in the royal cache TT 320 belongs to the rishi type, ⁸⁸⁶ although it was severely damaged by robbers and only traces of its original decoration are visible. The ownership of the

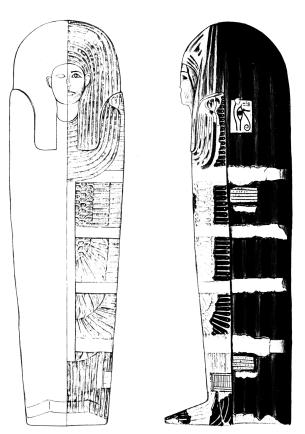


Fig. 130 The coffin of the "royal nurse" Rai, front and side view. Courtesy of P. Lacovara. Drawing by A.D. Boyce.

coffin is unquestionable even though the mummy of queen Inhapi was found inside it. Two columns of inscription written in black ink on the reverse of the lid records the name of the owner of the coffin, the nurse of queen Ahmes Nefertari, Rai, whose mummy was also found in the cache but in another coffin. Thieves had removed the inlays for the eyes and stripped off any gilding from the coffin. The scars left by the robbery still permit observations to be made about certain distinctive features of the original decoration. The wig belongs to the tripartite type and is unusually very large. Four horizontal bands originally crossed the feather decoration, but unfortunately it is not possible to say if they bore any kind of inscription or were empty, since the decoration in gold leaf was completely stripped off by thieves and at the present only the original trace remains. On the lower part of the body over the feather decoration two jackals recumbent on a shrine are depicted; here and along the sides of the case survive the scant remains of painted feathers outlined in yellow with a blue and white background. On each side of the case, at shoulder level, is a small yellow frame containing a wd3t-eye, and two panels of religious formulae inscribed between the horizontal stripes⁸⁸⁷ (see Fig. 14). Rai probably outlived the gueen she raised because on her coffin inscription Ahmes Nefertari is given the epithet "true of voice" m^{3c} hrw, indicating that she was already dead when the coffin was produced. This would date the coffin style to slightly after the first years of Tuthmosis I.888

The *rishi* coffin of the "door keeper of the king" Seped, which was found in pit tomb no. 62/44 hewn into the

courtyard of burial complex C 62, displays a complete remodelling of the *rishi* pattern placing its development half way between the *rishi* and white anthropoid styles. 889 Although the whole body of the coffin is covered by naturalistic feathers running down from the usual *wsh*-collar, two horizontal bands were added inscribed with the *im3hw hr*-formula and the side walls of the bottom include funerary vignettes in the fashion of early New Kingdom white coffins. 890 A scarab found with the mummy bore the name of queen Ahhotep (see Fig.

⁸⁸⁵ G. HOLLENDER, *Amenophis I. und Ahmes Nefertari* (2009), p. 15-6. Ahmes Nefertari is still attested in life during the first years of Tuthmosis I, see M. GITTON, *L'épouse du dieu*, *Ahmes Néfertary* (1975), p. 22.

⁸⁸⁶ See Cat. **rT04C**.

⁸⁸⁷ For the inscriptions on the coffin, see M.G. DARESSY, Cercueils des cachettes royales (1909), p. 4-7, and pl. 5.

⁸⁸⁸ M. GITTON, L'épouse du dieu, Ahmes Néfertary (1975), p. 22.

⁸⁸⁹ See Cat. rT02CarCa.

⁸⁹⁰ Cf. M.B. BRUYÈRE, Les fouilles de Deir el Médineh (1934-1935) (1937), p. 26, fig. 10. See also M. BARWIK, Typology and Dating of the "White"-type Anthropoid Coffins (1999), p. 13-5, group A.

100). The form of the moon with down turned crescent is indicative of the queen Ahhotep who lived through the latter part of Ahmose's reign and into that of Tuthmosis I.⁸⁹¹ Seped's *rishi* coffin demonstrates that the standard pattern had already undergone a major change in this period, thus suggesting a successive shift, or perhaps an amalgamation of contemporary trends, towards the white type.

Also, coffin no. 62/43.17,892 recovered from the same room where two scarabs bearing the names of Amenhotep I and Ahmes Nefertari were found, shows the uncommon feature of mixing the white anthropoid style with the *rishi* pattern.893 The dating of the appearance of this practice would be approximately the same, around the reign of Amenhotep I or into the reign of Tuthmosis I, when Ahmes Nefertari was still alive.

The coffin of the "lady of the house" Rennofer belongs to the rishi type894 but also shows some uncommon features. The background colour of the coffin was blue. while the feather decoration was crossed by transverse bands running down from the central column (see Fig. 131). The wig was no longer decorated with the feather pattern, but with alternating stripes; the face, the headdress stripes, and the vulture on the chest - not partnered with the cobra in this instance - were overlaid with gold leaf.⁸⁹⁵ Rennofer may have lived through the reign of Tuthmosis I, the earliest king attested in the tomb, to that of Hatshepsut, since her husband Neferkhewet was the keeper of documents in the time of the queen. However, Rennofer's coffin, the only one belonging to the *rishi* type, is contextually associated with the earliest item found in the tomb, a scarab bearing the cartouche of Tuthmosis I.⁸⁹⁶

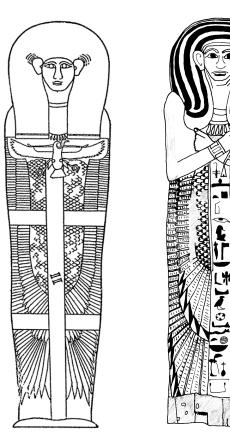


Fig. 131 (left) Coffin of the "lady of the house" Rennofer, Cat. *r***T20MMA**, from W.C. HAYES, *The tomb of Nefer-Khewet* (1935), fig. 1.

Fig. 132 (right) Anonymous *rishi* coffin Cat. *r***T09NY**. Drawing by G. Miniaci.

A female anonymous coffin found in the so-called Sankhkare cemetery can be placed at the end of the *rishi* coffin sequence, ⁸⁹⁷ since it shows completely reworked features far from the original concept of the *rishi* decoration. Although the feathers are roughly arranged in the usual mirrored layers, they are unconventionally painted in white and bright green; the second layer is missing, indicating that the shape of the bird was no longer the basis for the decoration. The breast is missing the usual decoration of vulture and cobra and features projecting arms with closed hands, the vertical column is not framed by any decorative motif, and the headdress is simply outlined by vertical stripes⁸⁹⁸ (see Fig. 132). This kind of *rishi* coffin decoration clearly points towards the latest date in the typological sequence. Found in the same shaft was a dagger presented by king Tuthmosis I⁸⁹⁹ (see Fig. 113) and the presence in the neighbourhood of the tomb of one of the royal Ahmoside princesses, Ahmes Tumerisi, ⁹⁰⁰ both point towards an advanced early 18th dynasty date.

⁸⁹¹ PM V, p. 203; see *supra* p. 123-4.

⁸⁹² See Cat. rT25carca.

⁸⁹³ See *supra* p. 100. *Cf.* coffin of Seped, see Cat. *r*T02CarCa.

⁸⁹⁴ See Cat. *r***T20MMA**.

⁸⁹⁵ W.C. HAYES, The tomb of Nefer-Khewet (1935), p. 22.

⁸⁹⁶ W.C. HAYES, *The tomb of Nefer-Khewet* (1935), p. 28. See *supra* p. 104-5.

⁸⁹⁷ See Cat. **rT09NY**.

⁸⁹⁸ See MMA photo M.3.C.318. See *supra* p. 109-10.

⁸⁹⁹ H.E. WINLOCK, The Egyptian Expedition 1921-22 (1922), p. 20.

⁹⁰⁰ C. VANDERSLEYEN, *Une stele d'Amosis* (1977), p. 237-44. See *supra* p. 110.

The Early 18th Dynasty: Reign of Tuthmosis III

The coffin of the "overseer" Khay, no. 62/P2.D.3, 901 placed in the innermost room of the pit-tomb, has some peculiar features that hark back to the evolution of the *rishi* coffin in this phase: the feather pattern applied to the body of the lid is finely executed and crossed by horizontal bands of inscribed hieroglyphs. However, these do not contain the usual *im3hw hr*-formula but instead prefer the *dd mdw in*-formula. The face and the vulture pectoral are gilded and in the lower part of the body over the feather decoration are the images of a recumbent Anubis in the form of a jackal on a shrine 902 (see Fig. 33.c). On the base of the foot end are the finely executed depictions of Isis and Nephthys kneeling on two *nb*-signs. 903 In the outermost chamber, a scarab bearing the cartouche of king Tuthmosis III was found, giving the *terminus ante quem* for the burial of the "overseer" Khay and its *rishi* type. 904 Indeed, in the outermost chamber, the type of coffins changes significantly, mostly belonging to the white anthropoid style, and they could only have entered the tomb after the burials in the innermost room had been placed.

The anonymous *rishi* coffin no. 1389 from the eastern cemetery at Deir el-Medina⁹⁰⁵ was found in the same chamber where two jar lids bearing the cartouche of king Tuthmosis III also lay.⁹⁰⁶ The type of the coffin still belongs to the standard *rishi* pattern, although the space for the feathers along the lid is slightly reduced and is filled instead by larger decoratively framed bands featuring a wave motif. The lower lappets of the *nms*-headdress are encircled with the usual chain motif, and the vulture and cobra decoration is absent. The lowest layer is filled with long, black feathers painted on a white ground. The general layout of the Deir el-Medina coffin shares a number of features with some of the coffins found in *saff* tomb C 37, even if it seems rather impoverished or hastily accomplished by comparison.⁹⁰⁷

Actually, the dating to around the reign of Tuthmosis III of the *rishi* coffin found by Bruyère suggested by the two lids could be misleading, since the trend attested in the final phase focuses on the transformation of the *rishi* type to the white anthropoid style, with the addition of inscribed bands crossing the lid over the feathers, vignettes, and the abandonment of the *nms*-headdress.

It has to be noted that the array of items in funerary chamber 1389 is evidently unusual, as though objects were moved from their original positions perhaps because they were re-used. All the other coffins found by Bruyère in the eastern cemetery were usually aligned with the chamber walls (see Fig. 133), while the *rishi*

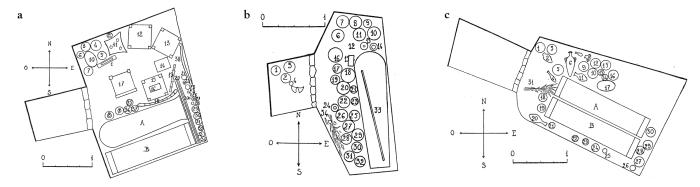


Fig. 133 Plan of three tombs found by Bruyère in the eastern cemetery of Deir el-Medina; (a) tomb no. 1379; (b) tomb no. 1380; (c) tomb 1388, from B. Bruyère, *Les fouilles de Deir el Médineh* (1937), respectively figs. 96, 98, 108.

coffin no. 1389 was lying in a transverse position. The funerary equipment gives the general impression that the tomb was intended for two burials, since two headrests, four sandals and two musical instruments were found. As suggested by Bruyère the chamber originally contained two coffins. 908 Probably the tomb had been

⁹⁰¹ See Cat. **rT16MMA** and *supra* p. 98.

⁹⁰² MMA photos 5A, 376-7.

⁹⁰³ MMA photos 5A, 568-9.

⁹⁰⁴ C. LILYQUIST, A Foreign Vase Representation (1997), n. 10 at p. 308.

⁹⁰⁵ See Cat. **rT01PH**.

⁹⁰⁶ M.B. BRUYÈRE, Les fouilles de Deir el Médineh (1934-1935)(1937), p. 199-201. See supra p. 111.

⁹⁰⁷ See *supra* p. 89 and Fig. 82.

⁹⁰⁸ M.B. BRUYÈRE, Les fouilles de Deir el Médineh (1934-1935)(1937), p. 201.

pillaged and the funerary equipment greatly disturbed. The lids inscribed with the cartouches of Tuthmosis III may have belonged to the missing coffin or somehow entered the tomb later than the *rishi* coffin during one of the successive re-openings of the structure. However, this would represent the *lectio difficilior*, since we have to admit a series of fragile hypotheses. Another explanation could be that some sort of re-fashioning of *rishi* coffins occurred after the reign of Tuthmosis I.

However, whatever explanation we offer for the date of the coffin from Bruyère's excavations, it seems clear that the latest use of *rishi* coffins dates to somewhere between the reigns of Tuthmosis I and Tuthmosis III.

There is another *rishi* coffin which could be dated to such a late phase. The *rishi* fragments found by the Pacific Lutheran University expedition in KV 60 could be associated with the lidless coffin of the nurse of Hatshepsut, Sitre. 909 However, at present this remains merely a suggestion and nothing further can be stated.

To conclude this section, it is remarkable that all the *rishi* coffins attested during the phase of Tuthmosis III pose some chronological problems. For the *rishi* coffin of Khay, Tuthmosis III is only the *terminus ante quem* and cannot precisely date the burial, while the coffin found at Deir el-Medina comes from a disturbed context and has strong parallels with earlier *rishi* types, and finally the *rishi* coffin of Sitre is nothing more than an engaging hypothesis.

The relative sequence: archaeological and material evidence

The Earlier Phase

The rishi coffin of the "commander of the ruler's crew" 3tw n tt hk3 Teti, found somewhere at Dra Abu el-Naga and stored in the Cairo Museum from 1913 when it was first described by Maspero, 910 provides some useful chronological information, but no precise dating⁹¹¹ (see Fig. 134). The title held by Teti designates a high official with a rank of military command that was no longer used after the reign of Segenenre Djehuty-aa. 912 Therefore, Teti would have been buried in the period prior to the end of the 17th dynasty. Indeed, Teti's coffin displays unusual features some of which are shared by the coffin of Nubkheperre Antef. Firstly, the text down the lid employs an inconsistent system of incomplete hieroglyphs in which bird-signs are shown legless, but snake-signs are complete. The same arrangement of incomplete signs is still visible on Nubkheperre Antef's coffin, where the horned viper (GARDINER, sign list I9) is shown complete and contrary to the other signs usually subjected to mutilation. 913 Secondly, the lowest layer of Teti's coffin is decorated by spherical and barrel shaped beads arranged in a net-pattern in the same style already used by Nubkheperre Antef for his coffin (see Fig. 33.b). Other features, however, point towards a rather archaic or unusual style, like the complete vulture with outstretched wings represented over the head, or the wsh-collar lacking the usual terminal row of

beads, or the roughly executed pattern of the cobra and vulture. On the foot board a pair of red (imitating leather?) sandals is represented flanked by kneeling Isis and Nephthys figures. Moreover, depicted over the lower lappets of the headdress are a kohl vase with its stick and a handled mirror. This feature is unique in *rishi* decoration and Teti's coffin is the only example known at present. It

Fig. 134 Rishi coffin of the "commander of the ruler's crew" Teti, Cat. rT05C. Drawing by P. Whelan.



⁹⁰⁹ See Cat. **rT01Ry** and *supra* p. 111-2.

⁹¹⁰ See Cat. **rT05**C. PM I², 2, p. 614, erroneously called Houkitari; G. MASPERO, *Guide* (1913), no. 3102; G. MASPERO, *Guide* (1915), p. 306-7, no. 3102.

⁹¹¹ *Cf.* W. GRAJETZKI, *The Second Intermediate Period model coffin of Teti* (2006), p. 1-12. The title of Teti, the owner of the model coffin of the Britishm Museum, is "commander of the ruler's crew", and the inscriptions on the model coffin show incomplete signs as attested in the *rishi* coffin of the "commander of the ruler's crew" Teti; are they the same person? ⁹¹² S. QUIRKE, *Titles and bureaux* (2004), p. 97, 99; A.W. WARD, *Index* (1982), no. 13; P.-M. CHEVEREAU, *Prosopographie des cadres militaires du Moyen Empire* (1992), p. 23-30; D. STEFANOVIČ, *The Holders of Regular Military Titles* (2006), p. 72-94

⁹¹³ See Cat. **rT01BM**. See detail in the *Catalogue*.

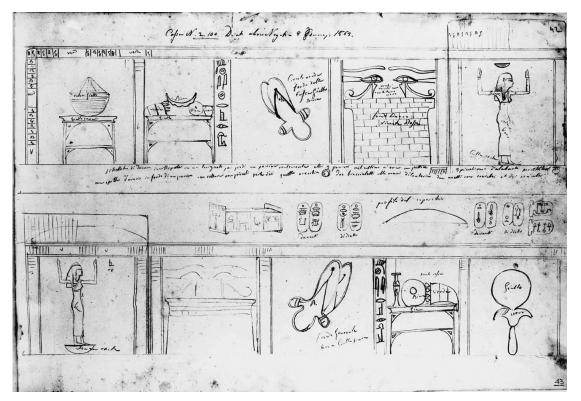


Fig. 135 Second Intermediate Period rectangular coffin reproduced in the *Album di Disegni* of Luigi Vassalli labelled T 100.2, from AV f. 43r © Civica Biblioteca d'Arte di Milano - Fondo Luigi Vassalli, Album H 2.

can be tentatively interpreted as the emergence of new and different motifs on the coffin of the Second Intermediate Period. The depictions of the mirror, kohl-vase and sandals have a direct parallel with another Second Intermediate Period rectangular coffin with arched lid, found by Vassalli in the tomb labelled T 100 along the slopes of Dra Abu el-Naga north, which had along the sides representations of objects from the actual burial equipment of the time, such as a mirror, a pair of sandals, a table with food, a basket, and a cosmetic vessel (see Fig. 135).

Three *rishi* coffins (Cat. *r***T01NY**, Cat. *r***T02NY**, Cat. *r***T03NY**) come from a family (?) tomb close to TT 33 in the Asasif valley. Two of them display archaic features (see Fig. 136), including a certain awkwardness in their design, an outlandish feather pattern and rough proportions in the modelling of certain parts of the body, especially the headdress, face, ears and the mouth. The general layout of the tomb is characterised by the relative small number of *rishi* coffins, only six in all - far fewer, for example, than from funerary complex C 62 - and by the noteworthy presence of rectangular and black rectangular coffins with arched lids and raised ends. Although the tomb was in use over a long period of time, the discovery of a cartouche shaped plaque bearing the legend "Sobek-Re, Lord of Shedit" and the symptomatic presence of black rectangular coffins may tie the entire group to a slightly earlier rather than later phase in the 17th dynasty.

The anonymous *rishi* coffin 62/**R4.C.2**, found in the secondary tomb R 4 along the southern side of the C 62 complex, ⁹¹⁹ displays very detailed and naturalistically rendered feathers on the lid, which extend also onto the headdress that has faintly outlined *nms*-lappets (see Fig. 137). The distinctly triangular-shaped face has a false beard still in place. The long side walls of the case are decorated with an alternating coupling of *dd*-pillar signs and *tit*-signs divided by a chain motif⁹²⁰ (see Fig. 31). This uncommon iconography can be paralleled with the decoration of the ceremonial spoon inscribed for Sobeknakht found in the tomb of the "royal acquaintance" Hornakht⁹²¹ and perhaps with the rectangular coffin of Rediamun, which shows a similar pattern along its short sides. The combination of the titles borne by Rediamun "overseer of the fields" prefixed by "royal sealer" does not support an early 18th dynasty date for his burial equipment. Although lacking any chronological date

⁹¹⁴ The coffin is published and discussed in F. TIRADRITTI, *Luigi Vassalli and the archaeological season at western Thebes* (2010), p. 333, pl. 114; see also *supra* p. 56.

⁹¹⁵ See *supra* p. 106.

⁹¹⁶ See Cat. **rT01NY**, **rT03NY**.

⁹¹⁷ W.C. HAYES, The Scepter of Egypt (1959), vol. II, p. 20.

⁹¹⁸ C. LEITZ, Lexikon (2002), vol. VI, p. 263-4. See M. ZECCHI, Sobek of Shedet (2010).

⁹¹⁹ See Cat. **rT11MMA** and *supra* p. 97.

⁹²⁰ See MMA photo 5A, 555.

⁹²¹ Cf. A. MARIETTE, Monuments divers (1892), pl. 51 (k).

⁹²² W. GRAJETZKI., *Die höchsten Beamten* (2000), p. 130-41; S. QUIRKE, *Titles and bureaux* (2004), p. 91. See *supra* p. 108.



Fig. 136 Anonymous *rishi* coffin, Cat. *r*T01NY. Drawing by G. Miniaci.

for coffin 62/R4.C.2, its position at the bottom of the chamber next to the wall points to it being one of the earliest burials to have entered the tomb. 923 Indeed, the coffin that lay beside it shows a more standard *rishi* style 924 (62/R4.C.1) with the *nms*-stripes clearly visible and not covered by feathers. Furthermore, the whole passage leading to the chamber was full of other *rishi* coffins belonging to the standard type. 925 In conclusion, the type of coffin 62/R4.C.2 with its *dd-* and *tit-* decorative motif cannot be later that the classical phase of the *rishi* coffin. 926

Another example of a *rishi* coffin bearing this alternating decoration of coupled *dd*-pillar and *tit*-knot signs, also comes from an earlier phase in the *rishi* sequence. From pit-tomb no. 1 located in the courtyard of the C 62 complex, ⁹²⁷ which has no chamber at the bottom of the shaft, comes a very much decayed *rishi* (?) coffin, 62/**P1.A.3**, decorated with coupled *dd*-pillars alternating with *tit*-knot signs. ⁹²⁸ This coffin was found in a layer beneath the remains of an anthropoid coffin decorated with inscribed horizontal bands, no. 62/P1.A.1. ⁹²⁹ The archaeological information points towards a clear sequence, with the use of the crossed band decoration as a successor to the *dd*-pillar motif.

The *rishi* coffin belonging to the "lady of the house" Reri⁹³⁰ follows the standard type, but does not display any distinctive female features. It is noteworthy that the coffin is the last one to be recorded by Carter and consequently one of the first to have entered the tomb. Above it lay another *rishi* coffin⁹³¹ (see Fig. 32), probably of an earlier phase as well, which has a rather awkwardly rendered heraldic motif of the cobra and vulture. Incidentally, although the Reri coffin belonged to a woman, it does not present any female traits. Preserved amongst the burial

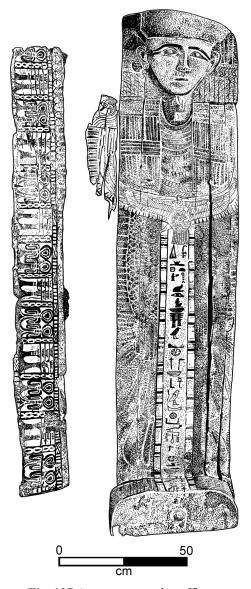


Fig. 137 Anonymous *rishi* coffin, Cat. *r***T11MMA**. Drawing by P. Whelan from MMA photo 5A, 376.

equipment of coffin Cat. **rT05NY**, was a pair of clappers, one inscribed with the name of an unknown "king's daughter" Nensemekhtuf⁹³² and another decorated with spherical and barrel shaped beads arranged in a net-pattern design (see Fig. 90), closely recalling the decoration present in the lowest layer of Nubkheperre Antef's coffin (see Fig. 33.b).

⁹²³ See MMA photos. 5A, 269-70.

⁹²⁴ See Cat. *r***T10MMA**.

⁹²⁵ See MMA photo 5A, 286.

⁹²⁶ See *infra* p. 142-3.

⁹²⁷ See *supra* p. 98.

⁹²⁸ See Cat. **rT14MMA**. See also MMA photo 5A, 345 (feathers around the head); 5A, 355 (*dd*-pillar and *tit*-knot).

⁹²⁹ MMA photo 5A, 358.

⁹³⁰ See Cat. rT04NY.

⁹³¹ See Cat. *r***T05NY**.

⁹³² See *supra* p. 93 and n. 630.

The Incomplete Hieroglyph System: a possible Chronological Watershed

The percentage of private *rishi* coffins employing the incomplete hieroglyph system is fairly low, around 13%. 933 Taking all the evidence together, it seems that the northern tradition of using incomplete hieroglyphs for religious inscriptions continued at Thebes and in the south during a transitional stage of the Second Intermediate Period. Towards the late 17th dynasty, in many instances there emerges the desire to revive the

traditions of complete hieroglyphs and *rishi* coffins are the clearest expression of this trend, since they mark the final stage in the use of incomplete hieroglyphs before their final abandonment. King Sekhemre Wepmaat Antef had already stopped using incomplete signs for his coffin inscriptions, even though his canopic box employs a mixed system of complete and incomplete hieroglyphs (see Pl. 8b). At first glance, the choice seems completely incoherent since the same signs are represented on the same object both complete and legless. The same inconsistency occurs on the canopic box of another Second Intermediate Period king called Sobekemsaf⁹³⁴ (see Fig. 66). The reason for using incomplete hieroglyphs had doubtless lost its original religious meaning.

One of the likely explanations for the origin of what had now become such a confused practice can be traced back to the difficulties emerging in the transcription of religious texts and attempts to spell some words phonetically. The case of the "king's acquaintance" rh nswt Dedtu's heart scarab is a prime example⁹³⁵ (see Fig. 138). The whole inscription gives chapter 30B of the Book of the Dead and is consistent in its use of the incomplete hieroglyphs system, except for one instance, when the word swd3 is written with its phonetic complement, 3 shown as a legged vulture sign (GARDINER, sign list G1). The Dedtu scarab does not follow other late Middle Kingdom examples attesting this formula, 936 all of which write the word swd3 without any phonetic complement. In this instance, the scribe chose to spell out the word he was copying precisely and added

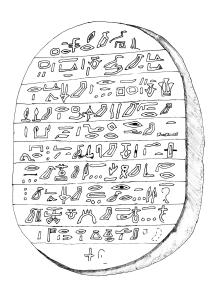


Fig. 138 Heart-scarab of the "king's acquaintance" Dedtu, RMO Leiden L.II.6. Drawing by G. Miniaci.

the bird sign without attempting to omit the legs, thus indicating that the original meaning of incomplete hieroglyphs had escaped him. Unfortunately Dedtu's scarab is undated but can be paralleled with the scarab of the "high steward" Nebankh who, following a suggestion of Grajetzki, could have been buried at Abydos, *i.e.* far from the northern royal residence of the late Middle Kingdom⁹³⁷ (see Fig. 139).

The watershed between the use and disuse - indeed oblivion - of incomplete hieroglyphs may be identified within the corpus of private *rishi* coffins. Not a single *rishi* coffin or its associated grave goods dating from the reign of Seqenenre Djehuty-aa onwards through the early 18th dynasty show incomplete hieroglyphs in their inscriptions. Onversely, private *rishi* coffins bearing incomplete inscriptions can be dated with a fair degree of certainty to earlier than the reign of Seqenenre. This is the case of the "commander of the ruler's crew" Teti and the "accountant of the army" Nenen[...], hone whose titles are not attested much after Seqenenre's reign; also an anonymous *rishi* coffin found by Vassalli at Dra Abu el-Naga, hose design is very similar to those

The practice of the incomplete hieroglyph system still persists through the late 17th-early 18th dynasty in the royal sphere, as shown by the coffin of Kamose, Cat. **rT03C**, and by a standing sandstone Osiris statue of king Amenhotep I found buried in a shallow grave at the Asasif, Z.E. SZAFRANSKI, *Buried statues of Mentuhotep II Nebhepetra and Amenophis I* (1985), p. 261, fig. 2.1.

⁹³⁴ For a discussion of the kings called Sobekemsaf in the Second Intermediate Period, see K.S.B. RYHOLT, *The Political Situation* (1997), p. 170 and *Catalogue of Attestations*, p. 393 (File 17/2), 395-6 (File 17/6); see G. MINIACI, *Un Sobekemsaf da Dra Abu el-Naga* (2006), p. 75-87.

⁹³⁵ RMO Leiden L.II.6; D. LORAND, Quatre scarabées de coeur (2008), p. 23-5, fig. 1a-b.

⁹³⁶ S. QUIRKE, *Two Thirteenth Dynasty heart scarabs* (2003), p. 36. See also B.J. KEMP, *An Early Heart-scarab Plate* (1979), p. 26-9.

⁹³⁷ W. GRAJETZKI, Die höchsten Beamten (2000), p. 259.

⁹³⁸ See for instance the coffin of Hornakht, Cat. *r***T01VA** and *supra* p. 58.

⁹³⁹ On these titles see D. STEFANOVIČ, *The Holders of Regular Military Titles* (2006), p. 72-94 ($3\underline{t}w \ n \ \underline{t}t \ hk\beta$), 209-12 ($s\& n \ m\&^c$); S. QUIRKE, *Titles and bureaux* (2004), p. 99, 105.

⁹⁴⁰ See Cat. rT07carca.

⁹⁴¹ See Cat. *r***T02VA**. See *supra* p. 60.



Fig. 139 Scarab of the "high steward" Nebankh, EA 64378 © courtesy of the Trustees of the British Museum - London. Photo by G. Miniaci/drawings by P. Whelan.

of Teti and king Nubkheperre Antef, and another anonymous *rishi* coffin in the Museum of Fine Arts Boston, ⁹⁴² which is one of the few *rishi* coffins painted in black, bear incomplete hieroglyphs inscriptions.

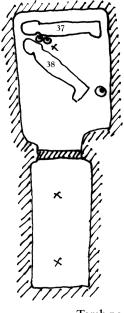
Remarkably, the mixed usage of complete and incomplete hieroglyphs or the absence of incomplete hieroglyphs on private coffins during the latter half of the Second Intermediate Period could be seen as a chronological indicator exhibiting the degree of cultural permeability at this time; the inscriptions of the earliest *rishi* coffins seem to be influenced more by northern culture and thus display incomplete hieroglyphs, whereas in later phases *rishi* coffins, by then firmly rooted in their own culture, tend to avoid the use of the incomplete hieroglyphic inscription.

The Later Phase

Two *rishi* coffins of the later phase were found in a single underground chamber (*I*) hewn in secondary tomb no. 62/47⁹⁴³ (see Fig. 89). Despite the absence of any datable material from the burial, their locations close together inside the chamber nevertheless gives a relative sequence of two different *rishi* types. The *rishi* coffin of the "accountant of the treasurer" *sš n imy-r htmt* Amenhotep -coffin no. 62/47.37-⁹⁴⁴ was the first to have entered the room, lying closest to the bottom of the chamber with its scant burial equipment placed in front of it (see Fig. 140).

The coffin displays the standard *rishi* pattern, with a feathered and striped *nms*-headdress, a beaded *wsh*-collar, the representation of the vulture with cobra, the canonical subdivision of the feathers into registers, and the representations of kneeling Isis and Nephthys figures on two pillared *nb*-signs (see Fig. 141).

Lying in the same room was the coffin of the "king's son" s3 nswt Renseneb -coffin no. 62/47.38-,945 but its deposition inside the chamber occurred later, even if only slightly, than Amenhotep's burial, because it was placed in the middle of the room in front of Amenhotep's coffin and laying askew from it. In fact, the size of the coffin, around 2.10 m long, would not easily fit in a room only a little large at around 2.20 m wide, which was clearly intended for a smaller coffin, and so it was placed crossways. 946 It seems that the chamber was originally designed only for Amenhotep's burial and was later reopened and re-used for the coffin of Renseneb. The *rishi* style of Renseneb's coffin is considerably different from the classic type. Its headdress is covered by naturalistic feathers, but has striped lappets; some feathers are arranged in an arrowhead pattern along the lid, while



Tomb no. 47

Fig. 140 Plan of the funerary chamber *I* of tomb 62/47, from *MMAArch*. Carter Mss. pl. V. Drawing by G. Miniaci.

⁹⁴² See Cat. **rX01BO**.

⁹⁴³ See *supra* p. 94.

⁹⁴⁴ See Cat. rT06C.

⁹⁴⁵ See Cat. *r*T07C.

⁹⁴⁶ MMAArch. Carter Mss. p. 6, "Cache of Tomb 47".

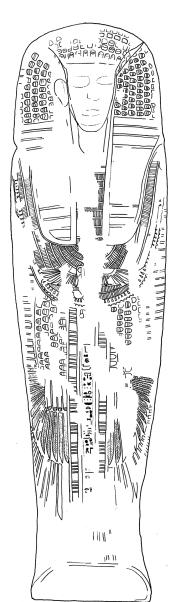


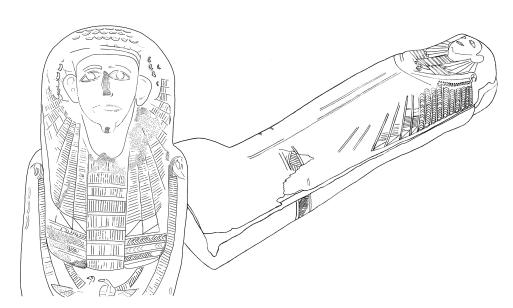
Fig. 141 (upper left) *Rishi* coffin of the "accountant of the treasurer" Amenhotep, Cat. *r*T06C © Egyptian Museum - Cairo. Drawing by P. Whelan.

Fig. 142 (lower right) *Rishi* coffin of the "king's son" Renseneb, Cat. *r*T07C © Egyptian Museum - Cairo. Drawing by P. Whelan.

in the lower part a single wave-patterned cross band overlays the *rishi* decoration. Unusually, details such as the feathers, the hieroglyphs and the headdress are painted in green (see Fig. 142).

As previously stated, chamber A of tomb C 37 in the Asasif had its doorway completely closed and sealed with the stamped cartouche of Tuthmosis I. 947 Consequently, all the burials stored in the room are contemporary or earlier than the reign of this king. Although the coffins inside the room cannot be dated more precisely than this, it is worth noting that in the chamber, out of a total of 8 coffins, only one belongs to the *rishi* type, coffin no. 37/37.70, 948 said by Carter to be similar to no. 37/37.66, 949 while the others are rectangular or white anthropoid in the shape. This statistical information suggests that by the reign of Tuthmosis I at the latest the *rishi* coffin had almost fallen into disuse (see Fig. 143).

The archaeological situation recorded in the inner rooms of tomb C 37 provides further evidence of the relative sequence of rishi coffins. As previously seen, chamber F situated at the bottom of the shaft from hall C contained two rishi coffins -nos. 37/37.60 and 37/37.66-,950 but none of the other coffins buried with them belonged to the white anthropoid type. Coffin no. 37/37.66 displays the standard feather pattern, but with the remarkable features of a wave border decoration to the side of the vertical column, which was left blank in this case, and the use of an intense bright vellow paint for the face and background, and thin simple horizontal lines drawn in black and red on the case walls. 951 Rishi coffin no. 37/37.60 was the last to have entered the room, blocking the entrance with its presence. 952 Pit D was piled from bottom to top with 8 coffins. What is undisputable is that the burials in chamber F cannot have been deposited after the shaft was filled. Moreover, the archaeological situation recorded by the excavators indicates a clear chronological order of deposition. One of the upper coffins (no. 37/37.53) contained two scarabs, one bearing the name of the king's daughter Neferure and the other the prenomen of Tuthmosis III, while the lowest coffin (no. 37/37.59) also contained two scarabs, but these were inscribed with the names of



⁹⁴⁷ See supra p. 88. Earl of CARNARVON, H. CARTER, Five Years' Explorations at Thebes (1912), p. 65.

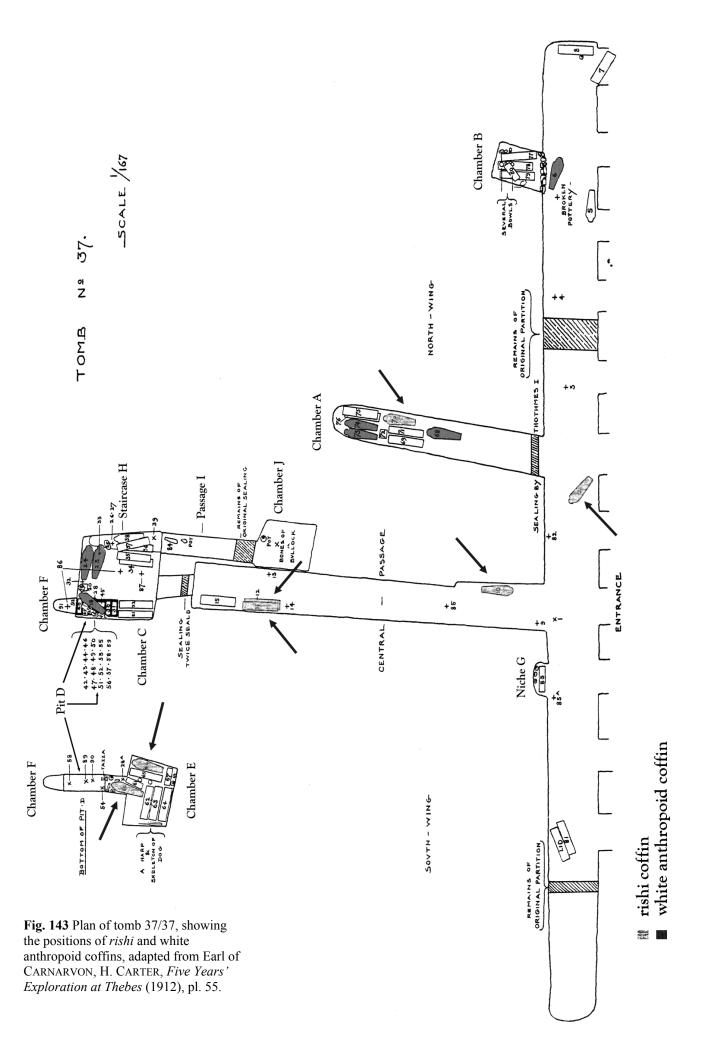
⁹⁴⁸ See Cat. rT03CarCa.

⁹⁴⁹ See Cat. *r***T13C**.

⁹⁵⁰ See Cat. **rT06carca** and **rT13C**. See also *supra* p. 89.

⁹⁵¹ See Cat. *r*T13C.

⁹⁵² See Cat. rT06carca.



Tuthmosis II and Tuthmosis I. The sequence of filling the shaft appears clear; it was progressively filled from the time of Tuthmosis I onwards. Furthermore, chamber C lying over the mouth of the pit did not contain any kind of rishi coffin, but three burials of New Kingdom style with white anthropoid coffins and the names of 18^{th} dynasty kings (see Fig. 143). As noted by Carter, the passage leading to chamber C was sealed twice, corresponding to a re-opening of the doorway. Although the pit, as well as chamber F, could have been filled at one time, the sequence and the distribution of the coffins and of the royal names seem to be more ordered than random. The rishi coffins in room F could pre-date or be contemporary with the reigns of Tuthmosis I and Tuthmosis II, while chamber C, perhaps initially left empty, was occupied at a later time.

The coffin of Nakht, ⁹⁵³ found in pit tomb 62/P3, was decorated with gold leaf on the face and along the whole of its body, but unlike the other *rishi*, it has arms modelled as though beneath wrappings and hands exposed. ⁹⁵⁴ The wig is not feathered but blue and white striped, while the feathers elsewhere are painted in white lines. The body is decorated with the usual vertical band inscribed with the name of the owner, called simply Nakht, without any title, and by two bands running across the lid⁹⁵⁵ (see Fig. 155). Above the pit leading to the chamber of Nakht, a coffin was placed, effectively sealing the entrance to the underground chambers. What is remarkable is that the coffin belongs to the white type. Therefore, the *rishi* coffin with arms and hands modelled and horizontal stripes crossing the feathers may represent the last phase before the definitive abandonment of this style in favour of the white anthropoid coffin. Nevertheless, the coffin of Nakht may shed new light on the transitional overlapping of the white and *rishi* anthropoid coffin styles. Indeed, if the white type had evolved directly from the *rishi* coffins, marking the abandonment of this fashion, the presence of hands would be in order, but their absence in many of the white types⁹⁵⁶ suggest that the last phase of the *rishi* coffin also witnessed the rise of a new alternative (?) type. Only in a later phase would both have added the feature of modelled hands and arms, even though by then the *rishi* coffin style had almost been abandoned, while the white coffin style still continued.⁹⁵⁷

Excursus A: rishi masks as prototypes of rishi coffins?

Rishi masks deserve special attention because their distribution, both chronological and geographical, is quite different from that evident for coffins. One funerary cartonnage mask with feathered decoration on the headdress has recently been found in an intact shaft tomb 2 km west of the Senusret III pyramid at Dahshur whose entrance was partially covered by the New Kingdom chapel of Ta. St. The mask belonged to the "commander" st. Senu who was buried in a rectangular coffin entirely painted in yellow, with text columns in blue, and a vaulted lid with raised ends. Both the style of the coffin stand the place of interment at Dahshur, points to the late 12th-early 13th dynasty. However, the lack of any internal decoration using the object frieze and/or Coffin Texts and the plain title bore by Senu who is labelled simply as "commander", seem to defy an early classification. On this mask the feather decoration is confined to the upper part of the headdress, where the body of a vulture with outstretched wings and grasping two sn-signs in its claws is represented (see Fig. 144). It can be considered rishi only lato sensu.

Also the feathered mask, CG 28109, found in 1895 at Deir el-Bahri and belonging to the "king's ornament" *hkrt nswt* Nubheredi is dated to the cultural phase before the late 17th dynasty.⁹⁶¹ The mask was found in a black rectangular coffin, ⁹⁶² generally in use before the appearance or spread of *rishi* coffins, bearing yellow

⁹⁵³ See Cat. *r***T19MMA**. See *supra* p. 99.

⁹⁵⁴ Cf. Cat. rT09NY.

⁹⁵⁵ MMA photos 5A, 394-7; PM I², 2, p. 617; A.M. LYTHGOE, A. LANSING, N. de Garis DAVIES, *The Egyptian Expedition* 1915-16 (1917), p. 22.

⁹⁵⁶ M. BARWIK, *Typology and Dating of the "White"-type Anthropoid Coffins* (1999), p. 30 (white anthropoid coffin belonging to Puia; presence of arms and hands).

⁹⁵⁷ For examples of white anthropoid coffins with hands, see coffin of Neferkhewet in W.C. HAYES, *The tomb of Nefer-Khewet* (1935), p. 22, fig. 1 (I), 5; coffin of Nebseni in M.G. DARESSY, *Cercueils des cachettes royales* (1909), p. 20-4, pls. 9, 15; coffin of Puia in R.M. MOND, *Report of work* (1905), p. 80-1.

⁹⁵⁸ S. YOSHIMURA, Excavating in Egypt for 40 years (2006), p. 194-7, 228, no. 249.

⁹⁵⁹ See also S. YOSHIMURA, *Excavating in Egypt for 40 years. A Special Exhibition* (2008), p. 30-1. *Cf.* the style of the coffin with that of king Awibre Hor, J. de MORGAN, *Fouilles à Dahchour* (1895), pl. 36.

⁹⁶⁰ H. WILLEMS, *Chests of Life* (1988), p. 117.

⁹⁶¹ PM I², 2, p. 657. See also M.P. LACAU, Sarcophages antérieurs au Nouvel Empire (1904), pl. 23.

⁹⁶² M.P. LACAU, *Sarcophages antérieurs au Nouvel Empire* (1904), CG 28030, compare with the black rectangular coffin of Senebni, CG 28029, see G. LAPP, *Tyologie der Särge und Sargkammern* (193), pl. 34b.

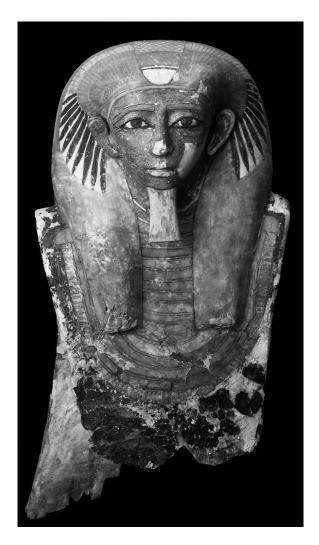




Fig. 144 (left) Mask with feathered pattern belonging to the "commander" Senu © courtesy of Masahiro Baba.

Fig. 145 (right) Feathered mask in the National Museums of Liverpool, accession number M11020 © courtesy of Ashley Cooke.

inscriptions written with incomplete hieroglyphs, thus dating it to a late Middle Kingdom phase. 963 On this mask the feathers do not merely form a localised frame around the forehead and the face, as seen on Senu's, but extend down to the collar.

At Beni Hasan, Garstang found in tomb 287 a *rishi* mask inside a rectangular coffin. The tomb cannot be precisely dated, since it contained early Middle Kingdom wooden models (a granary and a boat) as well as New Kingdom equipment (a chair and throw sticks), and was evidently in use over a wide period of time. However, the mask from tomb 287 already shows the classic features of the *rishi* type; notable is the unusual - for coffins - minuscule and completely out of proportion face. However, the mask from tomb 287 already shows the classic features of the *rishi* type; notable is the unusual - for coffins - minuscule and completely out of proportion face.

Other masks generally date from the late 17th to the early 18th dynasty and are attested both at Thebes and elsewhere. Two *rishi* masks were found in pit-tomb 62/P3, in the courtyard of tomb C 62 at the Asasif. ⁹⁶⁶ One was found upon the head of a well wrapped mummy in a rectangular coffin, ⁹⁶⁷ too badly decayed to be saved. ⁹⁶⁸ The mask is finely modelled and painted, with a gilded face, vulture breast pattern painted on the top with the bird's tail extending down the mask's back and on either side its two outstretched wings holding *šn*-rings. An elaborate feather and beaded collar is painted around the face; on the tab appears the offering formula with the name rubbed off (see fig. 98). Amongst the remarkable finds associated with the burial was an ivory inlaid game box bearing the name of the "overseer of the prophets of Kamose" Mosi. ⁹⁶⁹ The name of the 17th dynasty

⁹⁶³ G. MINIACI, The incomplete hieroglyphs (2010), p. 113-34.

⁹⁶⁴ J. GARSTANG, Burial customs (1907), p. 222, fig. 152 (tomb), 166 (throwing stick), 187 (rishi mask).

⁹⁶⁵ A. DODSON, A Funerary Mask in Durham (1998), p. 95-6, pl. 15.3.

⁹⁶⁶ See *supra* p. 99-100.

⁹⁶⁷ JE 45629, see PM I², 2, p. 618. MMA photos MMA 5A, 406 (archaeological context and finds), MMA 5A, 166-74 (mask).

⁹⁶⁸ For the archaeological context see *supra* p. 99. *Cf.* Cat. *r***T19MMA**.

⁹⁶⁹ Now in Cairo Museum, JE 45696; PM I², 2, p. 618. See MMA photo 5A, 565 and H.E. WINLOCK, *The tombs of the kings of the seventeenth dynasty* (1924), p. 262, n. 3.

king provides an approximate date for the period in which this mask was in use. From Chamber B, opening on the west side of Pit 3, another very decayed *rishi* mask was found in an anthropoid coffin in the south-eastern corner. While no firmly datable item is associated with this burial, the archaeological context points to an advanced period in the early 18th dynasty. This burial covered, and consequently was deposited successively, over the mouth of the pit, in which the funerary chamber containing the very unusual *rishi* coffin belonging to Nakht was lying. 971

A conspicuous number of these *rishi* masks come from the late Middle Kingdom-Second Intermediate Period cemetery X at Mirgissa, ⁹⁷² where local production for them was set up. ⁹⁷³ The archaeological sequence strongly suggests that the burials containing *rishi* masks are slightly later in date than others containing exclusively Residence style pottery and *h3t-* or *nms-*masks. The introduction of the *rishi* style in the production of masks at Mirgissa corresponds with the cessation of inscribed coffin imports from Egypt proper and the appearance of Upper Egyptian style pottery, and with the change in orientation from the body lying on its side to the body lying on its back. ⁹⁷⁴ As Bourriau has documented, the presence of *rishi* masks at Mirgissa must be linked with a change in cultural influence affecting a marginal environment, which changed from a funerary culture based upon the cemeteries around the great royal pyramid complexes of the Memphis/Fayum region to the newly evolving Theban tradition. ⁹⁷⁵

Another *rishi* mask (see Fig. 145) is preserved in the National Museums of Liverpool;⁹⁷⁶ however, its provenance is not recorded and it came into the museum in 1867 from a large private collection with no details of its discovery in Egypt.⁹⁷⁷ On the mask's wide lower tab are six columns of inscription arranged with the common offering formula and the space for the owner's name left empty. In addition, another unprovenanced feathered mask can be cited, which came from a sale at Christie's in 1974.⁹⁷⁸

In contrast to the *rishi* coffin, the feathered masks show a more fluent development and seem to spread from Thebes, as the main centre of production, only at the end of their evolution. The mask of Senu points to the northern residence and the late Middle Kingdom as the starting point of this tradition. However, at the moment it is impossible to gain a clearer picture from the information so far available. Does the feathered mask really lie behind the origin of the *rishi* coffin pattern, as suggested by Taylor?⁹⁷⁹ How much of the development of the feathered mask and the *rishi* coffin is connected and how much of their evolution runs parallel, and do they merge only once the mask arrived in Thebes? What is sure is that the production of masks at the end of the Second Intermediate Period, as clearly attested by the design of the masks from Mirgissa, is the reflection of the *rishi* coffin fashion introduced during the Second Intermediate Period.

⁹⁷⁰ MMA photos 5A, 387-388. A.M. LYTHGOE, A. LANSING, N. de Garis DAVIES, *The Egyptian Expedition 1915-16* (1917), p. 21.

⁹⁷¹ For the archaeological context see *supra* p. 99.

 $^{^{972}}$ One of the finest examples is in the Louvre Museum, G. Andreu, M. Rutschowscaya, C. Ziegler, L'Égypte ancienne au Louvre (1997), p. 100-1, no. 40.

⁹⁷³ A. VILA, Les masques funéraires (1976), p. 151-263, pls. 1-4.

⁹⁷⁴ J. BOURRIAU, Change of Body Position (2001), p. 10-4.

⁹⁷⁵ J. BOURRIAU, Change of Body Position (2001), p. 14.

⁹⁷⁶ Accession number M11020.

⁹⁷⁷ I am grateful to Ashley Cooke, Head of Antiquities in the National Museums Liverpool, for relevant information about the *rishi* mask. The mask is published in V. SCHMIDT, *Sarkofager, Mumiekister, Mumiehylstre* (1919), p. 87 (457), pl. XV.3.

⁹⁷⁸ Sale Catalogue. Christie's London Antiquities (1974), pl. 26, no. 367. I am deeply grateful to Paul Whelan for drawing my attention to this object.

⁹⁷⁹ See supra p. 41 and J.H. TAYLOR, Masks in Ancient Egypt (1994), p. 168-89.

Chapter 5

Inventing categories: a method for classifying rishi coffins

A significant number of *rishi* coffins cannot be included in any chronological sequence, not even approximately, because they lack a clear/documented archaeological context or are missing any form of datable link with the sequence of known royal examples. As has already been seen, the reasons for this are manifold; in most of the cases no names, ⁹⁸⁰ titles, or other significant information exist (see Table 06); the continuous and multiple interments in tombs of the Second Intermediate Period result in a great degree of confusion thus making any clear chronological assessment very difficult; ⁹⁸¹ the quality of material employed, above all the local wood, has contributed to fragment the archaeological documentation and render it highly incomplete; ⁹⁸² a considerable number of *rishi* coffins came from 19th century excavations in Egypt ⁹⁸³ and the surviving information on them is often scant if not entirely missing.

Creating a method of classification of the remaining undated *rishi* coffins is necessary in order to give an approximate date for each different type. The classification method followed here is based upon a simply key pattern following the progressive change of the basic formal elements in the decoration of well-dated *rishi* coffins:

- a) Characterization of standard and unchanging patterns in the decoration of well-dated coffins;
- b) Characterization of variable patterns in the decoration of well-dated coffins;
- c) Exclusion of any variable patterns that are repeated on two differently dated coffins, because they cannot give any dating key;
- d) Allotment of a type (*letters A-G*) to each number of significant variants;
- e) Grouping un-dated coffins into types.

Dated coffins **Undated coffins** Characterisation of standard and unchanging patterns No dating key in the decoration Characterisation of variable Allotment of a typology to each Grouping un-dated number of significant variants patterns in the decoration coffins into typologies Type A Exclusion of the variable Type B patterns which are repeated No dating key Type C on two differently Type D dated coffins Type E Type F Type G

⁹⁸⁰ See "Table of the Main Features", *infra* p. 156 f.

⁹⁸¹ See *supra* p. 115.

⁹⁸² See *supra* p. 24.

⁹⁸³ See for example one of the *rishi* coffin drawings from Auguste Mariette's excavations at Thebes preserved in Gaston Maspero archives in the *Bibliothèque de l'Institut de France*, Paris, published in F. JANOT, *Mummie regali* (2008), p. 63, fig. 62.

Typologies

Type A: the "Invisible" Coffins

Following the same procedure adopted by Petrie for his *Sequence Dating* numbering system, the first phase of the coffin type has been left open for those *rishi* coffin types which have not been preserved, but whose definite existence may be inferred from written/archival records.

At least four Theban private *rishi* coffins seem to be earlier in date than any preserved examples, 984 but unfortunately there exists no visual record of them, such as photographs or drawings, and they do not appear to have survived to the present day.

This type, labelled A, would theoretically encompass the first private *rishi* coffins in use during the early-mid 13th dynasty/Hyksos period. At the present time it is impossible to characterise their type - they are, in effect, invisible to us - but some future discovery may fill this gap in the sequence. The coffins of the "accountant of the main enclosure" Neferhotep⁹⁸⁵ or the "overseer of the city" Iuy⁹⁸⁶ would belong to this type.

Type B: the Archaic Coffins

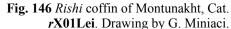
We can list under type B a number of un-dated *rishi* coffins showing some obvious archaic as well as uncommon features.

The coffin of Montunakht⁹⁸⁷ is missing the characteristic representation of the vulture and cobra on the lid; the pattern of the feathers in the first layer is confusedly rendered like an abstract series of circles; the feathers on the sides of the coffin are not yet divided into their usual registers, but rather into a single unit. The head of the coffin is completely covered by a feathered decoration and there is no hint of the subsequent *nms*-headdress style which features the overwhelming number of *rishi* coffins. Finally, the lower part of the coffin is decorated with an unusual chequerboard pattern (see Fig. 146), which could be an extension of some Middle Kingdom geometric design, as shown by the decoration on the coffin of Nakhtankh.⁹⁸⁸

To this type can also be ascribed one of the coffins found in tomb 62/R3,989 which shows a similar chequerboard pattern decorating the lower portion of the body, a reduced space for the vertical column, which, in its upper part, is filled by the same chequerboard pattern, the first layer missing the short feathers and simply painted in black, and the lack of the cobra beside the vulture. Again the headdress does not have the standard shape.

Concluding, these coffins seem to belong to a phase preceding the late 17th dynasty and the development of the classic *rishi* coffin. ⁹⁹⁰





The *rishi* coffins of the three Antef kings have been used as watershed for selecting and grouping the archaic phase coffins (Type B), but they clearly belong to a further evolutionary stage where we can find *in nuce* all the standardised elements of the classic phase (Type D). They are the first datable examples, which even though their internal sequence is far from clear, ⁹⁹¹ all belong to the early part of the late 17th dynasty.

⁹⁸⁴ See *supra* p. 116-8.

⁹⁸⁵ See *supra* p. 74 and Cat. *r***T01ma**.

⁹⁸⁶ See *supra* p. 107-8 and Cat. *r***T23mma**.

⁹⁸⁷ See Cat. **rX01Lei**.

This coffin, which is dated to the Middle Kingdom, was found in the outer court of tomb no. 2 of Khnum-aa at Rifeh, see W.M.F. Petrie, *Gizeh and Rifeh* (1907), p. 12, no. 26, pl. 10. See now R. David, *The Two Brothers* (2007).

⁹⁸⁹ See Cat. *r***T09MMA**.

⁹⁹⁰ G. MINIACI, Some remarks on the development of rishi coffins (2007), p. 95, pl. 7.

⁹⁹¹ See *supra* p. 21.

Following the classification method in use here, two variable patterns are recognisable: the absence of the vulture *cum* cobra design over the chest of Heruhirmaat Antef's coffin (see Fig. 147) and the net-pattern arranged in spherical and barrel shaped beads in the lower part of Nubkheperre Antef's coffin⁹⁹² (see Fig. 33.b).

The absence of the vulture and the cobra can be traced back to the initial conceptual stage of the *rishi* coffin before this feature had been conceived; while the net-pattern can be handed down directly from the Middle Kingdom decoration of anthropoid coffins, as attested in the pattern along the body of the coffin of Khnumunakht from Rifeh.⁹⁹³

The coffin of Nubkheperre Antef and, with some discrepancies, the canopic box of Sekhemre Wepmaat Antef,⁹⁹⁴ both display incomplete hieroglyphs in their inscriptions. Such a feature is inconsistently employed and cannot be used as a precise chronological watershed, at least for royal coffins; nevertheless in the private environment incomplete hieroglyphs seem hardly to extend beyond the reigns of the last kings of the 17th dynasty. Other differences in decoration are not significant, since they are repeated also on other later *rishi* coffins.

The coffin found by Petrie north of Dra Abu el-Naga belongs to this pre-standard phase. 995 Although it already shows an almost standardised shape and decoration, there are nevertheless some slight anomalies; in the first register the feathers are missing and the space is filled by a uniform colouring (in this case by gold foil) and the cobra *cum* vulture motif is absent (see Fig. 148). Moreover, it should be noted that recent analysis of the materials used in its manufacture revealed that the lid is made of tamarisk and the case of sycamore fig with acacia and sidder dowels, all of which are locally obtained, thus suggesting that imported wood was still not available. 996 As pointed out by Vivian Davies, it can be assumed that the use of local wood corresponds to a poor economic period when Thebes had no access to the northern trade routes. 997 Following the end of the Second Intermediate Period, at least for Theban royalty, cedar wood came back into fashion as attested by the coffins of Segenenre Djehuty-aa and queen Ahhotep⁹⁹⁸. This would rule out the possibility of assigning the *rishi* coffin found by Petrie to the early 18th dynasty. Moreover, its headdress is *nms*-shaped and does not show the hathoric arrangement one could expect for a royal/elite female rishi coffin of the late 17th dynasty (see infra, Type D). All these reasons let me to locate confidently this coffin no later than phase C.

The coffin of the "commander of the ruler's crew" Teti⁹⁹⁹ can be ascribed to the type C, since its decoration shows some unusual elements in the standard design of the classical *rishi* coffin. The lower



layer, just above the feet, is patterned by spherical and barrel shaped beads arranged in a net-pattern (see Fig. 149) in the style used by Nubkheperre Antef

Fig. 147 (upper right) *Rishi* coffin of king Sekhemre Heruhirmaat Antef, Cat. **rT02P**. Drawing by G. Miniaci.

Fig. 148 *Rishi* coffin found by Petrie north of Dra Abu el-Naga north, Cat. *r*T01ED © reproduction courtesy of National Museums of Scotland, Edinburgh. Photo by G. Miniaci.

⁹⁹² See Cat. **rT01BM**.

⁹⁹³ W.M.F. PETRIE, *Gizeh and Rife*h (1907), p. 12, no. 26, pl. 10.

⁹⁹⁴ See *supra* p. 119.

⁹⁹⁵ See Cat. **rT01ED**.

⁹⁹⁶ K. EREMIN, E. GORING, B. MANLEY, C. CARTWRIGHT, A 17th Dynasty Egyptian queen in Edinburgh? (2000), p. 37.

⁹⁹⁷ W.V. DAVIES, Ancient Egyptian timber imports (1995), p. 148-9.

⁹⁹⁸ H.E. WINLOCK The tombs of the kings of the seventeenth dynasty (1924), p. 251, n. 5.

⁹⁹⁹ See Cat. rT05C.

for his coffin (see Fig. 33.b). Over the wsh-collar, which lacks the usual bead terminals, is a very roughly executed pattern of the cobra *cum* vulture. Unparalleled is the depiction on each of the lower lappets of the headdress of a kohl vase with its stick and a handled mirror (*cf.* Fig. 135), a feature at present unique to this *rishi* coffin and, as suggested above, has perhaps his immediate parallel with other Second Intermediate Period rectangular coffins¹⁰⁰⁰ (see Fig. 150). In addition, the inscription along the coffin contains incomplete hieroglyphs. All these features fit perfectly with a dating for the coffin of before the reign of Sequence Djehuty-aa, as already indicated by the title borne by Teti. ¹⁰⁰¹

The *rishi* coffin numbered by Vassalli N71,¹⁰⁰² similarly couples the net-pattern in the lower feather layer with the presence of incomplete hieroglyphs, both of which are features strongly suggestive of a date earlier than phase D.

Type C may include also the coffins Cat. **rT08C** (see Fig. 23), whose first layer is unusually not decorated with feathers, and Cat. **rT01NY** (see Fig. 136), which displays a rough and not yet fully standardised design.





Fig. 149 (left) Detail of the feet of the coffin of the "commander of the ruler's crew" Teti, Cat. *r***T05**C © reproduction courtesy of Egyptian Museum - Cairo. Photo by G. Miniaci.

Fig. 150 (right) Detail of the chest of the coffin of the "commander of the ruler's crew" Teti, Cat. **rT05C** © reproduction courtesy of Egyptian Museum - Cairo. Photo by G. Miniaci.

Type D: the Classic Coffins

The coffin of Kamose perfectly embodies the standardised *rishi* type, since it shows all the features which characterise a large proportion of the *rishi* coffins, equating to about 38% of the examples recorded here. ¹⁰⁰³ It features a tripartite *nms*-headdress, a large *wsh*-collar, the depiction of the vulture *cum* cobra on the breast, the canonic arrangement of the body in layers of feathers, and the kneeling figures of Isis and Nephthys depicted under the feet (see Fig. 51). Similarly, the coffin of king Seqenenre would have had a comparable standardised arrangement, but unfortunately most of its surface decoration was removed by ancient robbers who carefully scraped the gold foil from the coffin and concealed (perhaps later?) the patches they laid bare with yellow paint.

The first private *rishi* coffins which are datable to around the reign of Sequence show all the classic features without any variations, such as the coffin of the "royal acquaintance" Hornakht.¹⁰⁰⁴

¹⁰⁰⁰ See supra p. 129-30. Cf. W. GRAJETZKI, The coffin of Zemathor (2010), p. 55-6, figs. 45-6.

¹⁰⁰¹ See *supra* n. 912.

¹⁰⁰² See Cat. *r***T02VA**.

¹⁰⁰³ See Table at p. 207.

¹⁰⁰⁴ See Cat. *r***T01VA**.

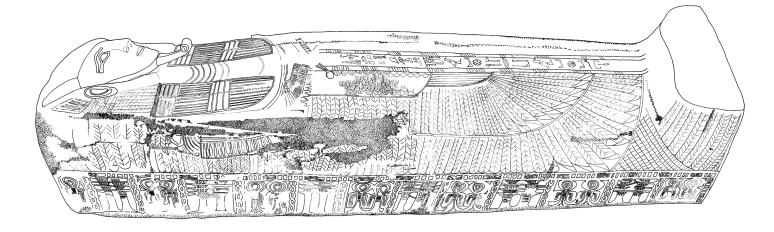


Fig. 151 Anonymous *rishi* coffin coming from tomb 62/R4.C.2, see Cat. *r*T11MMA. Drawing and reconstruction by P. Whelan.

Incidentally, the coffin of Hornakht provides one further clue for identifying other coffins belonging to this type. Found amongst his burial equipment was a cosmetic spoon inscribed with the name of the "mayor of Hierakonpolis" Sobeknakht. 1005 It is decorated with a motif of alternating pairs of <u>dd</u>-pillars and the *tit*-knot.

The same pattern is found on a number of *rishi* coffins belonging to the standardised type, mostly reproduced on the sides or under the feet. The *rishi* coffin found in tomb 62/**R9** has the depiction of two <u>dd</u>-pillars flanking a *tit*-knot under the feet (see Fig. 96); its body design fits perfectly with type D. The design of the *rishi* coffin found in tomb 62/**R4.C.2**, 1007 which has both sides decorated with <u>dd</u>-pillars and *tit*-knots in a variation of this

motif, also belongs to the standard type (see Fig. 151). It is in this phase that *rishi* coffin design had become canonized.

The *rishi* coffins used for female non-royal burials do not differ in any way from male coffins, as can be seen, for example, with the specimen belonging to the "lady of the house" Reri. 1008 While female royal *rishi* coffins continue to follow the standard pattern with feathers distributed in the usual registers, 1009 they differ inasmuch as the usual *nms*- or feathered headdress is substituted by a hathoric wig, with two voluminous sections of hair passing behind the ears and over the shoulder and ending in spiral scrolls above the breast. Such an innovation seems to have been introduced only in the reign of Seqenenre, since the earliest coffin with a hathoric headdress belongs to Satdjehuty who can be precisely dated to the reign of Seqenenre Djehuty-aa. 1010 Queen Ahhotep followed this fashion by adding a hathoric headdress to the standard *rishi* decoration of her coffin (see Figs. 152 and 127.a).

Type E: the "Hellenistic" Rishi Coffins

I decided to label this type with the borrowed and seemingly inappropriate term "Hellenistic", because I recognise in a number of coffins a definite attempt to imitate/copy models of the previous type, which brings to mind a parallel process of permeability and diffusion relating to Greek culture after the Classical Era. Grouped under this type are *rishi* coffins which imitate the standard model but which also display some peculiar ornamental details. Type E can be usually employed later than Type D models, but since in many cases the coffins are hard to date with precision, it is possible here only to propose a broad chronological range from the reign of Ahmose to the final abandonment of the *rishi* coffin (see Table 09).



Fig. 152 Detail of the *rishi* coffin of queen Ahhotep, Cat. *r*T02C © reproduction courtesy of Egyptian Museum - Cairo. Photo by G. Miniaci.

¹⁰⁰⁵ See *supra* p. 58.

¹⁰⁰⁶ See Cat. **rT08NY**.

¹⁰⁰⁷ See Cat. *r***T11MMA**.

¹⁰⁰⁸ See Cat. **rT04NY**. See also discussion *supra* p. 131.

¹⁰⁰⁹ Cf. Cat. rT02C.

¹⁰¹⁰ See *supra* p. 122-3.

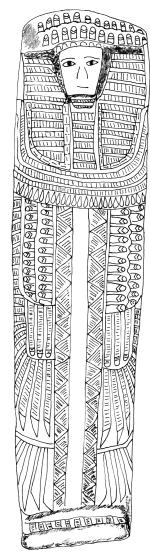


Fig. 153 Anonymous *rishi* coffin coming from the excavations of Bruyère at Deir el-Medina (eastern cemetery), Cat. *r*T01PH. Drawing by G. Miniaci.

It is just in this phase that the private and royal *rishi* coffins begins to change the extent of their evolution.

The anonymous *rishi* coffin no. 1389 from the eastern cemetery at Deir el-Medina¹⁰¹¹ is generally dated to the reign of king Tuthmosis III, since the tomb contained two lids bearing the king's cartouches.¹⁰¹² Although the original context is disturbed and it is highly probable that the tomb was reused at a later time,¹⁰¹³ the *rishi* coffin nevertheless remains the sole example from an early-mid 18th dynasty cemetery which is otherwise characterised by white anthropoid coffin types. Even if it does not date to the reign of Tuthmosis III, the anonymous *rishi* coffin surely belongs to and advanced phase of the *rishi* type. The space for the feathers along its lid is slightly reduced and is filled instead by larger decoratively framed bands featuring a weave motif. Moreover, the lower lappets of the *nms*-headdress are encircled with a chain motif (see Fig. 153).

The weave and chain motifs represent two variable patterns which rarely figure individually; in fact, following a sampling of all the coffins featuring one or both of these two motifs, they are coupled in 90% of the cases, *i.e.* all but one of the coffins. Most of the coffins bearing these two patterns come from tomb C 37 excavated by Carnarvon and Carter at el-Birabi. ¹⁰¹⁴ This tomb, as already stated, was sealed during the reign of Hatshepsut/Tuthmosis III and perhaps its use continued till it was hidden by the filling for the Hatshepsut valley temple. ¹⁰¹⁵

Another *rishi* coffin¹⁰¹⁶ which employs the weave and chain motifs was found in the cemetery at Saqqara (see Fig. 42). Its employment in a northern cemetery, the fact that it contained, unusually, two mummies inside it¹⁰¹⁷ and the presence of Mycenaean pottery production amongst its burial equipment¹⁰¹⁸ rule out any possibility that it dates to before the early 18th dynasty.

These datable examples locate the type E later in the *rishi* evolution phase, stressing a tight link with the early-mid 18th dynasty, but not beyond the reign of Tuthmosis III.

Another feature independent from the previous ones characterises the type E. This feature represents a significant variable pattern and it is attested in archaeological contexts which prove its employment in a later phase than the classic model. The coffin of the "king's son" Renseneb¹⁰¹⁹ (see Fig. 142) was interred after the burial of the "accountant of the treasurer" Amenhotep¹⁰²⁰ (see Fig. 141), whose coffin belongs to the standard type¹⁰²¹ (Type D). The *rishi* style of Renseneb's coffin is considerably different; its headdress is covered by naturalistic feathers with striped lappets on the shoulder, and, what is more remarkable, a single weave-patterned cross band overlays the *rishi* decoration on the lower part of the coffin (see Fig. 154). This feature can be interpreted as the embryonic stage of the successive phase, where three or four stripes cross the *rishi* decoration were employed (see *infra* Type F).

On private female *rishi* coffins in this phase the headdress design is changed. The coffin of the "royal ornament" Teti, no. 62/47.17¹⁰²² (see Fig. 127.b), belongs to the first part of the 18th dynasty, since in the same chamber a plaque bearing the cartouche of Ahmose was found¹⁰²³ (see Fig. 100). Its headdress, modelled as the usual *nms*-headcloth, terminates at shoulder level in spiral scrolls lying above the breast, resembling the

¹⁰¹¹ See Cat. **rT01PH**.

¹⁰¹² M.B. BRUYÈRE, Les fouilles de Deir el Médineh (1934-1935) (1937), p. 199-201.

¹⁰¹³ See *supra* p. 128.

¹⁰¹⁴ See Cat. *r*T13C, *r*T14C, *r*T15C.

¹⁰¹⁵ See *supra* p. 86.

¹⁰¹⁶ See Cat. rSq01FiGu.

¹⁰¹⁷ See *supra* p. 47-8.

¹⁰¹⁸ B.J. KEMP, R.S. MERRILLEES, *Minoan Pottery* (1980), p. 253.

¹⁰¹⁹ See Cat. *r***T07C**.

¹⁰²⁰ See Cat. **rT06C**.

¹⁰²¹ See discussion *supra* p. 133-4.

¹⁰²² See Cat. *r***T06NY**.

¹⁰²³ See *supra* p. 95.

appearance of a hathoric wig. This would be the first example of a private rishi coffin belonging to a woman and shown as a female. Perhaps it displays an influence from royal models (cf. the coffins of Satdjehuty and Ahhotep, see Fig. 127.a). In this phase of Egyptian history, influence royal gradually increasing in the private sphere. Such a feature, however, does not appear consistently, since other female *rishi* coffins do not necessarily follow this fashion and continue to use the *nms*-headdress. Perhaps this fashion gave rise to the more widespread use amongst female rishi coffins of a tripartite wig with long side lappets.

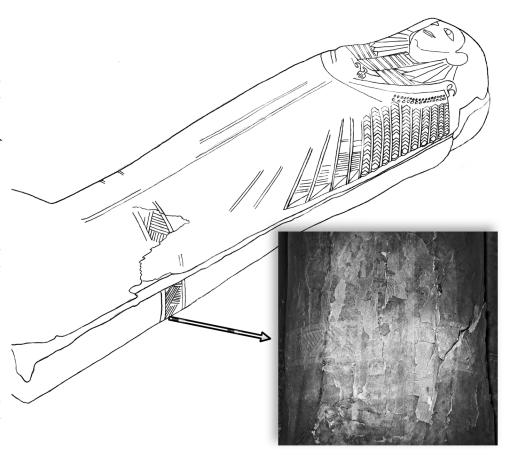


Fig. 154 Detail of the lower part of the coffin of the "king's son" Renseneb, Cart *r***T07C** © reproduction courtesy of Egyptian Museum - Cairo. Photo by G. Miniaci/drawing by P. Whelan.

Type F: the Transition to the White Type

Transverse bands and the adoption by female private coffins of a tripartite headcloth instead of the common *nms*-headdress, represent the chronological variable patterns in this phase, as shown by the coffins of the "king's son" Tetiky¹⁰²⁴ (see Fig. 129) and "doorkeeper of the king" Seped¹⁰²⁵ which display horizontal stripes overlaying the *rishi* decoration. The "royal nurse" Rai¹⁰²⁶ (see Fig. 130) and the "lady of the house" Rennofer¹⁰²⁷ (see Fig. 131) show how, besides the horizontal bands, the headdress has also changed shape on female coffins, being now a tripartite wig. In at least five instances amongst the dated examples, the horizontal bands are employed as carriers of the *im3hw hr*- and *dd mdw in*-formulae¹⁰²⁸ (see Fig. 155).

The dated coffins with transverse bands span from the latter end of the reign of Ahmose (Tetiky) to the reign of Tuthmosis I (Rennofer) and can be considered the last use of the *rishi* style before its end (Rai), as perfectly shown by the coffin of the "lady of the house" Rennofer, which is the only *rishi* coffin in a burial otherwise comprising entirely white anthropoid types. ¹⁰²⁹

The coffin of Tawy, ¹⁰³⁰ which was found in one of the funerary chambers in tomb 62/64, ¹⁰³¹ has four uninscribed transverse bands over the feather decoration (see Fig. 156). What is remarkable here is the position

¹⁰²⁴ See Cat. **rT08CarCa**.

¹⁰²⁵ See Cat. rT02CarCa.

¹⁰²⁶ See Cat. **rT04C**.

¹⁰²⁷ See Cat. *r***T20MMA**.

¹⁰²⁸ See Cat. rT02CarCa, rT16MMA, rT18MMA, rT19MMA, rT20MMA.

¹⁰²⁹ See *supra* p. 104-5, 127.

¹⁰³⁰ See Cat. *r***T05BM**.

¹⁰³¹ See *supra* p. 96.

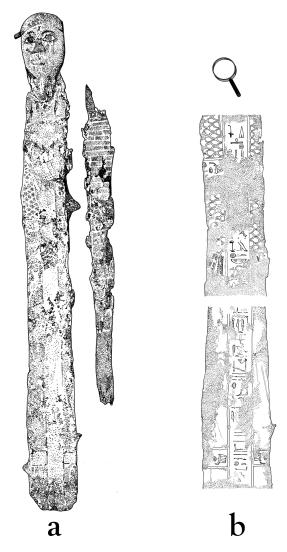


Fig. 155 *Rishi* coffin of Nakht, Cat. *r***T19MMA**; (a) drawing from excavations; (b) enlargement of the inscription on the vertical column and horizontal bands. Drawing by P. Whelan from MMA photo 5A, 395.

of her coffin in the tomb. Carter's number given to the coffin (62/64.15) places it lower in the sequence of the objects found in the tomb. Therefore, coffins 62/64.9 and 62/64.13, which belong to the white type, should belong to a later interment since they are recorded before Tawy's coffin. Moreover, even in this case, Tawy has definitely abandoned the feathered *nms* and adopted a tripartite wig, as can be documented for female *rishi* coffins of this phase. This coffin also has on both sides the addition of a *wd3t*-eye panel.

The coffin of Tarenu found by Petrie in the grave 1300 in Mayana cemetery K, at Sedment el-Gebel, 1032 cannot be placed in the *rishi* coffin evolution, since most of the body of the lid is completely occupied by a decoration consisting of text panels, transverse bands and symbols, including recumbent jackals over a shrine and wd3t-eyes; the space for the feather decoration is virtually nonexistent, now confined to the headdress and to the feet (see Fig. 157).

It has to be considered that probably during this period the wealthiest burials tended to include a set of two coffins, one rectangular and another of anthropoid *rishi* type placed inside the former. What is clearly depicted in the chapel of Tetiky (see Fig. 129), that of his *rishi* coffin over a rectangular one, has its archeological counterpart in the MMA excavations, where in pit tomb 62/P3 they found the *rishi* coffin of Nakht deposited inside a rectangular coffin. ¹⁰³³ As expected, the decoration of Nakht's coffin¹⁰³⁴ features transverse bands over the feather decoration (see Fig. 155). Also, Vassalli recorded in his notes that some *rishi* coffins were found inside rectangular ones. But his notes are somewhat confusing given that he did not show this aspect in his drawings. ¹⁰³⁵

This type of *rishi* coffin shares some characteristics with the white anthropoid type, since they superimpose transverse decorated or inscribed bands over the feathered design, which cross the vertical column (see Fig. 155). In some instances, the space created between two crossed bands is reserved for the inclusion of figures or religious text, and a feature that was developed further with the spread of the white coffin type. Nowadays, it is impossible to understand the manner of

diffusion and transmission of these transverse bands, since during the first part of the 18th dynasty both *rishi* and white types seem to be in use almost contemporaneously. It can be assumed that the *rishi* type F gave rise to the development of white anthropoid coffins, because the first attested white examples share many elements with *rishi* coffins, notably the roughness of their anthropoid shape, the use of multicoloured bands composed of ornamental blocks flanking the column for the inscription, 1037 the representation of a small group of mourners (on *rishi* coffins usually confined to the space under the feet, while for white coffins it is placed on the body

¹⁰³² W.M.F. PETRIE, G. BRUNTON, *Sedment* (1924), p. 23, pl. XL.1; J. PICTON, I. PRIDDEN (eds.), *Unseen Images. Gurob, Sedment and Tarkhan* (2008), p. 137. See also PMAN 3433.

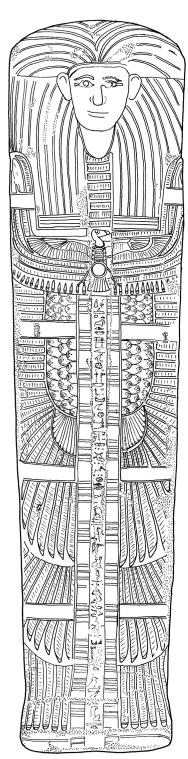
¹⁰³³ See *supra* p. 99.

¹⁰³⁴ See Cat. *r***T19MMA**.

¹⁰³⁵ See *supra* p. 57.

¹⁰³⁶ See for instance the coffin of Nubnen (?), M.B. BRUYÈRE, Les fouilles de Deir el Médineh (1934-1935) (1937), p. 158-161, fig. 10 and M. BARWIK, Sarkofagi antropoidalne z Deir el-Medina (1989-1990), p. 31-44; coffin of Puia, see R.M. MOND, Report of Work in the Necropolis of Thebes (1905), p. 80-1, images of the coffin in M. BARWIK, Typology and Dating of the "White"-type Anthropoid Coffins (1999), fig. 7a-b.

¹⁰³⁷ See A2, A4, in M. BARWIK, Typology and Dating of the "White"-type Anthropoid Coffins (1999).



of the lid),¹⁰³⁸ and the thin horizontal lines surrounding the bottom of the case.¹⁰³⁹ However, it must be taken into account that both types could have influenced each other, and perhaps just the appearance of a new type of coffin - the white anthropoid - adopted by a different social stratum of the population could have promoted the change during the final stages of the *rishi* type just before its complete abandonment. It is worth noting also that a number of late Middle Kingdom anthropoid coffins already display transverse bands crossing the lid as a decorative motif,¹⁰⁴⁰ even if these were never employed as a space for inscriptions.

Type G: the Modified Rishi Coffins

This is the last type under which the *rishi* coffin can be listed but it does not necessarily have a chronological implication, *i.e.* it is in use during the last phase of the *rishi* evolution but does not succeed type F (see Table 09). In fact, the dated example, ¹⁰⁴¹ belonging to a burial found in the Sankhkare cemetery, ¹⁰⁴² can be linked with the reign of Tuthmosis I under whose reign other *rishi* coffins of type F can also be listed (see Fig. 132). This type is characterised by the presence of modelled elements overlaying the *rishi* decoration, such as the addition of exposed hands and arms. ¹⁰⁴³

Fig. 156 (left) *Rishi* coffin of Tawy, Cat. *r***T05BM**. Drawing by P. Whelan.

Fig. 157 (right) Anthropoid coffin of Tarenu from Sedment; (a) frontal view; (b) detail of the headdress; (c) detail of the left side of the lid. Credits: a-c © reproduction courtesy of Egyptian Museum - Cairo. Photos by G. Miniaci.







¹⁰³⁸ See A3, A4, in M. BARWIK, Typology and Dating of the "White"-type Anthropoid Coffins (1999).

¹⁰³⁹ See A1, A3, in M. BARWIK, Typology and Dating of the "White"-type Anthropoid Coffins (1999).

¹⁰⁴⁰ R. van WALSEM, The coffin of Djedmonthuiufankh (1997), p. 29.

¹⁰⁴¹ See Cat. *r***T09NY**.

¹⁰⁴² See *supra* p. 109-10.

¹⁰⁴³ See Cat. **rT19MMA**.

	DISTINCTIVE FEATURES
Type A	-
Type B	absence of the standard division of feather layers/ absence of the vulture and cobra motif/ geometrical motif in the lowest part of the lid
Type C	absence of the vulture and cobra motif/ net-pattern arranged in spherical beads in the lowest layer of the lid/ incomplete hieroglyphs on the inscription (?) (only for privates)
Type D	tripartite <i>nms</i> -headdress/ presence of <i>wsh</i> -collar/ presence of vulture <i>cum</i> cobra design on the breast/ canonic arrangement of the body-lid in layers of feathers/ kneeling figures of Isis and Nephthys depicted under the feet/ no correlation between the sex of the owner and the coffin design (only for privates)
Type E	single lower transverse band crossing the feather layout/ coupled motif of wave and chain motif
Type F	inscribed or uninscribed parallel bands crossing the feather decoration/ tripartite wig for female coffins
Type G	arms and hands modelled on the lid

Table 08 Distinctive features of rishi coffin types.

Classification of <i>rishi</i> coffin types Chronology 1800-1425 BC	Type A	Туре В	Type C	Type D	Type E	Type F	Type G
early-mid 13 th dynasty							
late 13 th /early 17 th dynasty							
First phase of the late 17 th dynasty (kings Antef)							
Late 17 th dynasty (Seqenenre Djehuty-aa)							
Late 17 th dynasty (Kamose)							
Early 18 th dynasty (Ahmose)				?		?	
Early 18 th dynasty (Amenhotep I)							
Early 18 th dynasty (Tuthmosis I)							
Late phase of the early 18 th dynasty (till Tuthmosis III)					?		

 Table 09 Chronological table of rishi coffin types.

Conclusions

The end of the Second Intermediate Period: regeneration after collapse

As seen in Chapter 1, "The transitional phase from the late Middle Kingdom to the Second Intermediate Period", the socio-historical path of late Middle Kingdom Egypt can roughly be followed from the decline and eventual loss of power of the northern residence to the consequent reappearance of the same sociopolitical and ideological structures in the south of Egypt. This change can be considered simply as a process of transformation, which did not necessarily involve the country's fragmentation into smaller political entities, the breakdown of its economic system, or the failure of previous traditions and ideologies. The abandonment of the northern residence as the centre of power was not the immediate cause of political fragmentation. Political control over the country was not governed by the physical 'residence' itself, but by the system and persons behind it, both of which had the mobility to move throughout the country. Nevertheless, it has to be admitted that the loss of territorial areas, such as the east margin of the Delta, 1045 perhaps followed by Lower Egypt, would have been significant factors in the destabilisation of the ideology of social relations and governance. However, the spatial translation of this process is testified by the survival of institutions and ideas from the preceding phases in the new Theban environment. That being said, we nevertheless have to assume that there was a time of collapse before the end of the Second Intermediate Period, which at present remains invisible to the eyes of scholars. I use the word "assume" because the available sources do not show clearly the point at which the breakdown of the late Middle Kingdom system occurred during the phases of the Second Intermediate Period, while it is only at the end of the Second Intermediate Period that a phase of regeneration is clearly attested. By definition, socio-cultural regeneration presupposes a prior collapse. 1046 The process of regeneration entails the reconstruction of institutions and traditions based on patterns and mechanisms in use in the era before the collapse. However, regeneration does not mean simply replication, since generally the previous patterns and structures appear to be diversified in form and perception, even though they may be similar in substance, and provide the starting-point for an eventual or additional programme of re-creation. Indeed, collapse entails the disintegration of previous systems or ideologies, even though this does not necessarily imply that the disintegration has to be complete and immediate, but could equally be partial and occur over time. 1047

Amongst change and tradition: rishi coffins as "hopeful monsters"?

In such a scenario, can the initial concept and appearance of the *rishi* coffin be related to the phase of collapse? How much innovation is present within the overall development of the *rishi* coffin? To what extent is the *rishi* coffin pattern independent from the previous tradition and how long can it be seen as an indicator of a different social mobility? Any argument about change and tradition needs to be related to the social background of the burials examined during this study. The frequency of the factors determining change across the different levels of society is influenced by the distance, presence/absence and strength of relationship to/from the centre(s) of power. The farther a group is located from the residence the less likely it is to adopt an innovation; conversely it is more likely to generate its own individual culture which is not aligned with that of the main power centre. The wealthier members of society and those closer to the king's entourage display the greatest response to a change, but significantly in most cases the elite material production is that the most visible in archaeology. It is relevant here to note that when I use the label 'innovation' for *rishi* coffins I do not mean the 'invention' of something entirely new, rather a type of coffin not present in the previous material culture phase. This does

¹⁰⁴⁵ M. BIETAK, Zum Königreich des 3-zh-R Nehesi (1984), p. 59-75.

¹⁰⁴⁶ G.M. SCHWARTZ, From Collapse to Regeneration (2006), p. 3-17.

¹⁰⁴⁷ A.L. KOLATA, Before and After Collapse (2006), p. 208-21.

¹⁰⁴⁸ J. BAINES, *Kingship, Definition of Culture, and Legitimation* (1995), p. 7. It might be worth noting here that 'distance' is not always literally geographical according to the logic of centre-region-periphery, where a centre may stock the periphery of the area under its control; the regions in between may be less similar to the Residence at some non-elite levels, than the border zone is.

¹⁰⁴⁹ H. WILLEMS, Les Textes des Sarcophages et la démocratie (2008), p. 149-81.

not signify a break or a creation *ex novo* since, as has already been seen, *rishi* coffins appear to be the logical result of the late Middle Kingdom tradition.

In order to explain the rise and fall of the *rishi* coffin type, I have adapted the "Diffusion of Innovation" theory (DOI), developed by Everett Rogers, for the *rishi* model. Although this was designed to assess technological innovation, which is not the case with *rishi* coffins, I believe that the theory might usefully be applied to the different stages in the development of an innovation within social and cultural environments.

According to the DOI theory an innovation undergoes the following stages:

- Knowledge cognition of the existence of an innovation
- Persuasion favourable attitude towards an innovation
- Decision decision to adopt the innovation
- Implementation concrete use of the innovation
- Confirmation reinforcement of the innovation

What emerges from the study of *rishi* coffins is that, in certain respects, their developmental path does indeed follow the system defined by the DOI theory. The first two points, 'knowledge' and 'persuasion', are invisible to us and thus cannot be investigated at the present time. As suggested in Chapter 2, "*The iconography of rishi coffins*", the phases of 'knowledge' and 'persuasion' might be relevant for the late Middle Kingdom tradition when Coffin Texts focus on the mummification of the deceased and when the first anthropoid coffins appear in burials. The phase of 'decision' is primarily attested with the appearance of the first datable coffins or masks from the late Middle Kingdom/early Second Intermediate Period bearing the feather pattern, thus pinpointing the moment when the innovation was perceived and received, even though this is represented by very few examples. The phase of 'implementation' is represented by the spread of *rishi* coffin use amongst the burials of the late Second Intermediate Period. Finally the phase of 'confirmation' is testified by the adoption of this model by royalty during the late 17th dynasty, which played a specific role in the implementation of the innovation. However, this schema is only descriptive and does not attempt to explain the behaviour of the innovation represented by the *rishi* coffin. What clearly emerges in this description is that *rishi* coffins are poorly and only occasionally attested before the end of the Second Intermediate Period, while they are mainly attested during the late 17th/early 18th dynasty, concomitant with their adoption by royalty.

This evolutionary sequence can be compared with a biological evolutionary hypothesis named the "hopeful monsters" theory. 1051 This demonstrates that all genetic systems are liable to errors when they reproduce and most are doomed to failure and disappear. There are, however, very rarely, some "hopeful" cases in which the errors, or "monsters", might actually be better suited to survive and reproduce, thus creating a new species. Rishi coffin evolution seems to follow a similar path, since the first examples were destined to be isolated and ignored in the panorama of the Second Intermediate Period, but by the end had migrated across different social and cultural backgrounds, and therefore may have been transformed from what at the beginning was a "monster" destined for extinction into a successful innovation. The adoption of the rishi coffin type by the kings of the late 17th dynasty determined the passage of what until then had been the sporadic use of an innovation into a successful custom, which suddenly spread across "society". Clearly then, the adopter of an innovation plays a specific role within the success and diffusion of an innovation.

Social fluxes: the role of non-elites in the transmission of the *rishi* model

The distribution pattern of *rishi* coffins indicates that Thebes in the Second Intermediate Period was without doubt the epicentre for the emergence and development of the *rishi* coffin type. However, the first prototypical feather pattern applied to an element of burial equipment occurs on a mask recently discovered in the northern necropolis at Dahshur in the burial of Senu. ¹⁰⁵² This poses two questions: firstly, who is behind the "knowledge" of the *rishi* pattern and secondly, from where does it originate?

As suggested in Chapter 4 "Timelines: the sequence of rishi coffins", it can be argued from stylistic and archaeological evidence that royalty adopted the rishi coffin model after its invention and "decision". The first

¹⁰⁵⁰ E.M. ROGERS, *Diffusion of Innovations* (1983).

¹⁰⁵¹ See A.J. SHORTLAND, Hopeful Monsters? (2004), p. 1-11.

¹⁰⁵² See *supra* p. 136 and Fig. 144.

stages of *rishi* coffin implementation follow a "bottom-to-top" development. It is not unrealistic to assume that non-elites played a crucial role in the transmission of the material culture and ideology in this period of collapse. ¹⁰⁵³ It should be noted that non-elites are considered here as belonging to the middle and higher echelons of society, but not the highest officialdom, and excludes the poorest strata of the population, which are largely invisible in archaeology and thus to scholars.

A strong state control tends to depress local identities and culture, whereas a period of breakdown or simply a slackening of central power may give rise to the emergence of new and non-stereotypical cultural styles and conceptions. Whether the innovation is due to a local tradition (i.e. the Theban environment) or is the result of imported ideas (i.e. the elite moving from Itjtawy) is not known, but what emerges clearly here is that the spread of *rishi* coffins during the phase of regeneration took place at Thebes during the final part of the Second Intermediate Period. By then, Thebes was the right cultural environment into which the introduction and rise of the *rishi* coffin was possible. Again, the phase of collapse, which would be the period of gestation of the *rishi* coffin, is mostly invisible.

The lack of an adequate answer about the collapse is perhaps due to the sources we are investigating - coffins and their associated burial equipment. As suggested by Michael Parker Pearson, ¹⁰⁵⁴ the mortuary sphere becomes a vibrant field for social competition only at a time when personal advancement within a society is feasible. In a period of collapse, burial equipment is not the most responsive field and is perhaps overshadowed by the crisis and loss of other reference points. Only during the subsequent regeneration, when the old power is perceived as permeable, does the mortuary cult become instead the focus of new energy. ¹⁰⁵⁵ Perhaps to obtain different answers on the period of collapse we should investigate different categories of sources.

Burial customs at the end of the Second Intermediate Period

Burial customs seem to change radically in the Second Intermediate Period, as attested by the sudden spread (rather than appearance) of the *rishi* coffin, and by the complete disappearance of elements typical of late Middle Kingdom funerary deposits, including Osirification regalia and items related to birth-protection. The break is more remarkable because even though the anthropoid shape was already in use during the latter part of the 12th dynasty, the late Second Intermediate Period *rishi* coffin stresses a completely different concept; firstly for being adopted for the first time without the common rectangular outer coffin and secondly for its association with an assemblage of funerary items which differ considerably from those of the previous tradition, such as furniture, baskets and boxes. 1057

However, it must be taken into account that depositions during the late Second Intermediate Period usually include a higher number of burials, often distributed diachronically over a time span of about one hundred years, from the late 17th to the mid 18th dynasty (reigns of Hatshepsut-Tuthmosis III), which complicates a synchronic assessment and separation of individual deposits. Incidentally, in intact contexts pieces of real furniture, such as beds, are attested for the first time only with the burials of Madja and Nub found by Bruyère at Deir el-Medina, Which indicates that the trend developed in the mid-18th dynasty onwards, and only later in the dynasty became more widespread.

¹⁰⁵³ L. COOPER, *The Demise and Regeneration of Bronze Age Urban Centers in the Euphrates Valley of Syria* (2006), p. 18-37. See also M. van Buren, *Political Fragmentation and Ideological Continuity in the Andean Highlands* (2000), p. 77-87.

¹⁰⁵⁴ M. PARKER PEARSON, Mortuary Practices, Society, and Ideology (1982), p. 99-113.

¹⁰⁵⁵ E. MORRIS, State Formation in the Wake of Social Flux (2006), p. 58-71.

¹⁰⁵⁶ Certain elements from this set of objects would also be included in some burials of the 26th dynasty, as noted in W. GRAJETZKI, *Burial customs* (2003), p. 115-6. See for instance, the burial of Tjanehebu fully published in E. BRESCIANI, S. PERNIGOTTI, M.P. GIANGERI SILVIS, *La tomba di Ciennehebu* (1977).

¹⁰⁵⁷ S.T. SMITH, *Intact Tombs* (1992), p. 193-231. For the pottery see A. SEILER, *Tradition & Wandel* (2005).

¹⁰⁵⁸ D. POLZ, *Der Beginn des Neuen Reiches* (2007), p. 237-9, 309-10. W. GRAJETZKI, *Multiple burials in ancient Egypt* (2007), p. 16-34.

¹⁰⁵⁹ M.B. BRUYÈRE, *Les fouilles de Deir el Médineh (1934-1935)* (1937), p. 150-8 (tomb of Madja, no. 1370), 158-61 (tomb of Nub, no. 1371).

¹⁰⁶⁰ E. SCHIAPARELLI, La tomba intatta dell'architetto "Cha" (1927); S.T. SMITH, Intact Tombs (1992), p. 193-231.

The transmission of late Middle Kingdom traditions on rishi coffins

The change in burial customs and ritual traditions might be connected to a change in coffin shape, since the Second Intermediate Period seems to mark the abandonment of the rectangular coffin in favour of the anthropoid type. On a pragmatic level one can suggest that the less suitable surface of a coffin sculpted in human form could have changed the way the space, which previously had accommodated longer religious writings, was used. As a result, the inscriptions on the coffin were reduced to a single vertical line, usually containing the offering formula, while other religious writings were moved elsewhere. However, the absence of religious texts on most rishi coffins can be only partly due to their anthropoid shape; the decision must have been largely based on a cultural choice and the result of a protracted developmental process not immediately connected with the appearance of the rishi coffin. In this respect, it should be noted that many examples in the later history of anthropoid coffins bear long inscriptions on their surface. ¹⁰⁶² In addition, the *rishi* coffin of queen Tetisheri's daughter, Satdjehuty, demonstrates perfectly the possibility of inscribing long religious inscriptions on the underside of an anthropoid coffin, since its inner walls contain spells 124, 83, 84 and 85 of the Book of the Dead written in ink. 1063 Thus, in the early 18th dynasty the use of a linen shroud as a carrier of a BD text may be a possible intermediary between the shift from the coffin (late Middle Kingdom/Second Intermediate Period) to the papyrus roll (in the reigns Hatshepsut-Tuthmosis III). The change here relates only to the material employed for religious compositions, from wood to papyrus, but the first indisputable evidence for the emergence of the BD corpus is again not tied to the appearance of the *rishi* coffin, but, as has already been mentioned, is connected with the previous rectangular coffin tradition and dates within the second phase of the Second Intermediate Period (see queen Mentuhotep's coffin, supra p. 19-20). The creation, or rather, the integration of new religious formulae can be placed into a period when kings and the upper classes no longer had access to written sources at Memphis and Heliopolis and may have been forced to rely instead on the records and traditions in Upper Egypt. 1064

Previous ritual practices, such as the use of incomplete hieroglyphic signs, were formally abandoned at the end of the Second Intermediate Period and the percentage of *rishi* coffins employing this system is fairly low, even if it is more prevalent in the royal, rather than private, environment. Here again, this is a choice not connected with the appearance of the *rishi* coffin, but a completely independent one.

The administrative/political system at the end of the Second Intermediate Period

The late Middle Kingdom administrative system, which remained unchanged and stable throughout the Second Intermediate Period, shows a shift towards plainer and less specific titles, which abandon the phrasing designations of the late Middle Kingdom. A prolonged period of warfare between Thebes and Avaris may have acted as the watershed between the previous administrative system inherited by Thebes as a regional centre, which remained in use during the whole Second Intermediate Period, and the rise of new titles positively attested only after Sequenere Djehuty-aa onwards. Indeed, all the extant sources dating to the late 17th dynasty, but before king Sequenere Djehuty-aa, attest to officials still bearing late Middle Kingdom titles such as the "treasurer" jmy-r htmt Teti 1066 and the "royal sealer" htmty-bity and "overseer of sealers who follow the king" jmy-r htmtyw sms nswt Iahnefer, 1067 both living under the reign of king Antef Nubkheperre; the "royal sealer"

¹⁰⁶¹ See for instance, the coffin of king Nubkheperre Antef which still preserves fragments of the linen shroud bearing some unidentified texts written in black ink on the inner surface of the case, S. QUIRKE, *Rischisarg eines Königs Intef* (1994), p. 275-6, or the funerary shroud belonging to princess Ahmes, daughter of king Sequenere Djehuty-aa inscribed with some chapters taken from the Book of the Dead corpus, see E. SCHIAPARELLI, *Esplorazione della "Valle delle Regine"* (1924), vol. I, p. 13-21 and P. RONSECCO, *La tela funebre della principessa Ahmose* (1975), p. 147-52, pl. 35.

¹⁰⁶² Cf. the Third Intermediate Period coffin of Basenmut which is covered with lengthy extracts from the Book of the Dead, see J. TAYLOR, *Journey through the afterlife* (2010), p. 74-5, cat. no. 29.

¹⁰⁶³ A. GRIMM, S. SCHOSKE, *Im Zeichen des Mondes* (1999), p. 16-8.

¹⁰⁶⁴ R. PARKINSON, S. QUIRKE, *The Coffin of Prince Herunefer* (1992), p. 48.

¹⁰⁶⁵ S. Quirke, *Identifying the officials of the Fifteenth Dynasty* (2004), p. 187-8.

¹⁰⁶⁶ D. POLZ, A. SEILER, *Die Pyramidenanlage des Königs Nub-Cheper-Re* (2003), p. 10-4. The other titles of Teti include those of "member of the elite" $jry-p^ct$, "foremost of action" h3ty-c, "royal sealer" jtmty-bity, and "sole friend" $smr\ w^cty$.

¹⁰⁶⁷ W.M.F. PETRIE, *Abydos* (1903), p. 35, pl. 32 [3]. Note that the title "treasurer" *jmy-r htmt* also occurs with Neshi on Kames stela, so perhaps it still continue to be in use after Sequenerre Djehuty-aa, see L. HABACHI, *The Second Stela of Kamose* (1972).

htmty-bity and "chief overseer of the army" imy-r mš^c wr Herunefer, 1068 being the eldest son of a king called Mentuhotep, 1069 or the officials quoted in the Juridical Stele of Sewadjenre Nebiryerau. 1070

The political behaviour of Thebes, which contracted to the southern part of Egypt during the second phase of the Second Intermediate Period, ¹⁰⁷¹ shows an increase in the communication and display of the propagandistic power of royal ideology ¹⁰⁷² and an increase in military control ¹⁰⁷³ in order to consolidate and expand its ideological and territorial authority throughout and beyond the nome. However, the cause of Kamose's war against the Hyksos, as stated in his stela, ¹⁰⁷⁴ seems to be depicted not as the liberation of Egypt and never assume nationalistic aspirations, but rather it seems to be a belligerent action like others against the lord of Ashmunein, who prevents Kamose controlling a wider area. ¹⁰⁷⁵ The increase of a number of military titles such as "officer of a town-regiment" ^cnh n nwt¹⁰⁷⁶ or "commander of the ruler's crew" ³tw n tt hk³, ¹⁰⁷⁷ by the end of the 13th dynasty prepares the way for the changed internal policy during the last part of the Second Intermediate Period.

In conclusion, the third phase of the Second Intermediate Period is neither homogeneous nor easily decipherable. What this study of the *rishi* coffin type clearly underlines is that at the end of the Second Intermediate Period there was a period of collapse, perhaps only partial, which was suddenly followed by a period of regeneration, as evidenced by the spread of the *rishi* coffin model and the restoration of the older social order of kings-elite-non-elite, following the common route of the "top-down" transmission of a cultural innovation. The intriguing hypothesis remains, for further research, that during the Second Intermediate Period at least two kinds of changes took place, and at different times; the first one having a social/ritual character, the second focussed on the administrative/political system.

On the role of Herunefer in the development of the "king's son" title, see G. MINIACI, *Il potere nella 17^a dinastia* (2010), p. 99-131.

¹⁰⁶⁹ R. PARKINSON, S. QUIRKE, *The Coffin of Prince Herunefer* (1992), p. 37-51.

¹⁰⁷⁰ M.P. LACAU, Une stèle juridique (1903).

On the presence of the Hyksos in Upper Egypt, and on their relation with Thebes, see R. GIVEON, *The Hyksos in the south* (1983), p. 155-61; D. POLZ, *Die Hyksos-Blöcke aus Gebelên*, p. 239-47.

¹⁰⁷² P. VERNUS, *La stèle du Pharaon Mntw-htpi à Karnak* (1989), p. 145-61, pls. 6-7; H. GOEDICKE, *Studies about Kamose and Ahmose* (1995), p. 118-9. See also G. MINIACI, *L'Egitto dimentica l'Egitto*, p. 71-6.

¹⁰⁷³ S.R. SNAPE, Statues and Soldiers at Abydos (1994), p. 305-14.

¹⁰⁷⁴ L. HABACHI, The Second Stela of Kamose (1972).

¹⁰⁷⁵ H. GOEDICKE, Studies about Kamose and Ahmose (1995), p. 36-7, 112-3; G. MINIACI, L'Egitto dimentica l'Egitto (2008), p. 73-4.

¹⁰⁷⁶ O.D. BERLEV, Les prétendus "citadins" (1971), p. 24-48.

¹⁰⁷⁷ A.-M. KRUCHTEN, Review of "G.P.F. van den Boorn, The Duties of the Vizier (1991), p. 821-31.

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Catalogue - Introduction

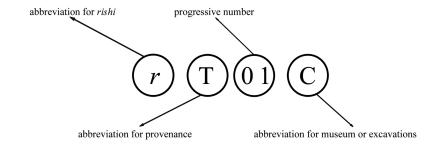
The *rishi* coffins in this Catalogue are divided into two sections: those stored in museums (section I) and those simply recorded in excavation reports or in archive documents **but** not traceable in any museum (section II).

The system of cataloguing the coffins follows two main criteria:

- a) Subdivision of coffins according to provenance.
- b) Subdivision of coffins according to museum/excavation.

In order to provide an immediate visual identification, for each *rishi* coffin is given a label which takes in consideration the two criteria. The siglum, which largely follows the method developed by Adriaan De Buck to classify rectangular coffins used in his *The Egyptian Coffin Texts* publication, is composed with an italic *r* prefix (for *rishi*) followed by the abbreviation of the provenance, then by a sequential number in ascending order, and finally by the abbreviation for the museum or excavation/excavator.

Siglum



Museum's abbreviation

ÄS = Staatliche Sammlung Ägyptischer Kunst - München

BM = British Museum - London

BO = Museum of Fine Arts - Boston

C = Egyptian Museum - Cairo

ED = National Museums Scotland - Edinburgh

Lei = Rijksmuseum van Oudheden - Leiden

NY = Metropolitan Museum of Art - New York

P = Musée du Louvre - Paris

PH = Náprstek Museum - Prague

Excavation's abbreviation

Br = Excavations carried out by Guy Brunton

CarCa = Excavations carried out by the Fifth Earl of Carnarvon and Howard Carter

FiGu = Excavations carried out by Cecil Firth and Battiscombe Gunn

Gr = Excavations carried out by Erhart Graefe

Knw = Excavations carried out by Naguib Kanawati

Ma = Excavations carried out by Auguste Mariette

MMA = Excavations carried out by the Metropolitan Museum of Art - Egyptian Expedition

NdG = Excavations/investigations carried out on behalf of Norman de Garis Davies

Pi = Excavations carried out by the Archaeological Mission at Dra Abu el-Naga of the University of Pisa

Ry = Excavations carried out by Donald Ryan

VA = Excavations carried out by Luigi Vassalli on behalf of Auguste Mariette

Provenance's abbreviation

Gi = Giza Mo = Mostagedda Sq = Saqqara T = Thebes X = unknown provenance

The Catalogue contains all the available sources for *rishi* coffins including not only coffins physically preserved in museums at the present time, but also those recorded in photographic archives or mentioned in archaeological reports. In addition, *rishi* coffins are included whose existence can only be inferred from manuscripts or excavations reports and for which no image is known. For this reason it has been necessary to distinguish between the coffins whose form is clearly identified and those for which only their affiliation with the *rishi* type is known. In order to emphasise immediately such a distinction, the last abbreviation of the sigla (abbreviation according to museums/excavations) is written in capitals for coffins for which we have at least one image available (e.g. *r*T01VA), while lower case denotes coffins only known from written records (e.g. *r*T04va).

In the fields "Provenance/Tomb type-number" the place of discovery, the tomb number(s), and the number of coffins as recorded by the excavator(s) are given. In cases where I interpret the information as unclear or doubtful, I have given the exact reference as found in the inventory registers or in the notes written by the excavator(s). Each source is shown in brackets.

In the fields "Museum/Museum accession number" the present location is given for each coffin in a museum as well as all known inventory numbers. For coffins known only by archival sources the field "Museum" contains the institution where the material is preserved, while the field "Museum accession number" gives the reference to the relevant manuscripts or photos.

In the field "Condition" only a general state of preservation is given: complete, damaged, fragment(s).

In the field "Date" each coffin is dated using all the available interpretative material; in cases wherever the date is not explicitly indicated by the presence of inscribed royal names on the coffin or in the burial, it is suggested by comparison with other similar coffins.

The field "Type" contains entries based on discussions in the chapter "Inventing categories: a method for classifying rishi coffins"; the labels A-G correspond to the classification developed in this book.

Measurements are always given in centimeters unless otherwise stated. The maximum measurement is given for each size.

Although the Catalogue includes the overwhelming majority of *rishi* coffins whose present whereabouts in museums or from archives are known, there could be some which have not been located by the author and are thus excluded from the Catalogue. It is hoped that further investigation will be able to trace other coffins. In some cases the number of *rishi* coffins grouped in the catalogue as coming from a specific area/structure may be misleading, since the archaeological records from the 19th century might be incomplete (*cf.* the area of Dra Abu el-Naga north in which Mariette and Vassalli are said to have found an enormous number of *rishi* coffins) or refer vaguely to "fragments of *rishi* coffins"/ "*rishi* coffins" without further explanation (see tomb 62/62 of the Carnarvon and Carter excavations at el-Birabi in which they found an undisclosed number of *rishi* coffins for which no detailed description or contextual information was given except for the brief note: "*containing remains of several very decayed rishi-burials*"). Such vague references are not included in the present Catalogue.

The work in the basement of the Cairo Museum has posed problems of identification for some of the *rishi* coffins, mainly due to the different inventory numbers assigned to a single coffin. In some instances two museum accession numbers were assigned to the same coffin or the same number was used for two or more coffins. For these coffins, the reader will find in the Catalogue the following entry "*Museum accession number: wrong number associated*". Any uncertainty with this field remains my own responsibility and may be solved with further investigation of the inventory registers.

At the end of the "Egyptian Museum - Cairo" section I have added a further page (see *infra* p. 248) of descriptions from the museum registers of the *rishi* coffins in my list of unknown whereabouts in the museum. Some of them may correspond to those coffins labelled "wrong inventory number associated", or may still lay hidden in the basement of the Egyptian Museum.

Coffin sigla

rGi01BO Unknown owner (P. LACOVARA, A rishi coffin from Giza (2007), fig. 1)

rMo01br Unknown owner (G. BRUNTON, Mostagedda and the Tasian Culture (1937), p. 120)

rSq01FiGu Unknown owner (C.M. FIRTH, B.G. GUNN, *Excavations at Saqqara* (1926), vol. I, p. 69-70, pl. 42)

rSq01knw Unknown owner (N. KANAWATI, A. EL-KHOULI, A. MCFARLANE, N.V. MAKSOUD, *Excavations at Saqqara* (1984), p. 68)

rSq02knw Unknown owner (N. KANAWATI, A. EL-KHOULI, A. MCFARLANE, N.V. MAKSOUD, *Excavations at Saqqara* (1984), p. 68)

rSq03knw Unknown owner (N. KANAWATI, A. EL-KHOULI, A. MCFARLANE, N.V. MAKSOUD, *Excavations at Saqqara* (1984), p. 68)

rT01ÄS Unknown owner (unpublished)

rT02ÄS Unknown owner (A. GRIMM, S. SCHOSKE, Im Zeichen des Mondes (1999), p. 95, Cat. 11)

rX01ÄS Satdjehuty (A. GRIMM, S. SCHOSKE, Im Zeichen des Mondes (1999), p. 2-33, 92, cat. no. 1)

rT01BM Nubkheperre Antef (H.E. WINLOCK, *The tombs of the Kings of the Seventeenth Dynasty* (1924), p. 226-33, pl. 14 [right])

rT02BM Unknown owner (W.V. DAVIES, Ancient Egyptian timber imports (1995), cat. n. 35, pl. 32.3)

rT03BM Unknown owner (W.V. DAVIES, Ancient Egyptian timber imports (1995), cat. n. 34, pl. 32.2)

rT04BM Unknown owner (unpublished)

rT05BM Tawy (N.C. REEVES, J.H. TAYLOR, Howard Carter before Tutankhamun (1992), p. 100)

rT01C Segenenre Djehuty-aa (M.G. DARESSY, Cercueils des cachettes royales (1909), p. 1-2, pls. 1-2)

rT02C Ahhotep (A. MACY ROTH, The Ahhotep coffins (1999), p. 361-77, fig. 34.1)

rT03C Wadjkheperre Kamose (C. ZIEGLER, Des dieux, des tombeaux, un savant (2004), p. 223)

rT04C Reri (M.G. DARESSY, Cercueils des cachettes royales (1909), p. 4-7, pls. 5-6 [left])

rT05C Teti (unpublished)

rT06C Amenhotep (unpublished)

*r***T07**C Renseneb (unpublished)

rT08C Unknown owner (unpublished)

rT09C Unknown owner (unpublished)

*r***T10**C Unknown owner (unpublished)

*r*T11C Unknown owner (unpublished)

*r***T12C** Unknown owner (unpublished)

rT13C Unknown owner (Earl of CARNARVON, H. CARTER, *Five Years' Explorations at Thebes* (1912), p. 83 [no. 66], pl. LXII.1 [no. 66])

rT14C Unknown owner (Earl of CARNARVON, H. CARTER, *Five Years' Explorations at Thebes* (1912), p. 71 [no. 11], pl. LXII.1 [no. 11])

rT15C Unknown owner (Earl of CARNARVON, H. CARTER, *Five Years' Explorations at Thebes* (1912), p. 70 [no. 2], pl. LXII.1 [no. 2])

rT01CarCa Unknown owner (Earl of CARNARVON, H. CARTER, *Five Years' Explorations at Thebes* (1912), p. 62, pl. LIII.3)

rT02CarCa Seped (unpublished)

rT03CarCa Unknown owner (Earl of CARNARVON, H. CARTER, *Five Years' Explorations at Thebes* (1912), p. 84 (no. 70), pl. 58 (no. 70)

rT04carca Unknown owner (Earl of CARNARVON, H. CARTER, *Five Years' Explorations at Thebes* (1912), p. 71 [no. 10])

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rT05carca Unknown owner (Earl of CARNARVON, H. CARTER, Five Years' Explorations at Thebes (1912), p.
71 [no. 12])
rT06carca Unknown owner (Earl of CARNARVON, H. CARTER, Five Years' Explorations at Thebes (1912), p.
82 [no. 60])
rT07carca Nenen[...] (Earl of CARNARVON, H. CARTER, Five Years' Explorations at Thebes (1912), p. 60-1)
rT08CarCa Tetiky (N. de Garis DAVIES, The Tomb of Tetaky (1925), pl. 5C)
rT09carca Unknown owner (unpublished)
rT10carca Unknown owner (unpublished)
rT11carca Unknown owner (unpublished)
rT12carca Unknown owner (unpublished)
rT13carca Unknown owner (unpublished)
rT14carca Unknown owner (unpublished)
rT15carca Unknown owner (unpublished)
rT16carca Unknown owner (unpublished)
rT17carca Unknown owner (unpublished)
rT18carca Unknown owner (unpublished)
rT19carca Unknown owner (unpublished)
rT20carca Unknown owner (unpublished)
rT21carca Unknown owner (unpublished)
rT22carca Unknown owner (unpublished)
rT23carca Unknown owner (unpublished)
rT24carca Unknown owner (unpublished)
rT25carca Unknown owner (unpublished)
rT26carca Unknown owner (unpublished)
rT27carca Unknown owner (unpublished)
rT28carca Unknown owner (unpublished)
rT29carca Unknown owner (unpublished)
rT01ED Unknown owner (W.M.F. Petrie, Ourneh (1909), p. 6-10, pls. 22-9)
rT01Gr Unknown owner (E. GRAEFE, Das Grab des Padihorresnet (2003), vol. I, p. 209, pl. 118, Kat. 540)
rT02Gr Unknown owner (E. GRAEFE, Die Doppelgrabanlage "M" (2007), pls. 3-7)
rT01ma Neferhotep (A. MARIETTE, Les papyrus égyptiens (1872), vol. II, p. 6)
rT01MMA Unknown owner (unpublished)
rT02MMA Unknown owner (unpublished)
rT03MMA Unknown owner (unpublished)
rT04MMA Unknown owner (unpublished)
rT05MMA Unknown owner (unpublished)
rT06MMA Unknown owner (unpublished)
rT07MMA Unknown owner (unpublished)
rT08MMA Unknown owner (unpublished)
rT09MMA Unknown owner (unpublished)
rT10MMA Unknown owner (unpublished)
rT11MMA Unknown owner (unpublished)
rT12MMA Unknown owner (unpublished)
rT13MMA Unknown owner (unpublished)
rT14MMA Unknown owner (unpublished)
rT15MMA Unknown owner (unpublished)
rT16MMA Khay (C. LILYQUIST, A foreign vase representation (1997), p. 340, fig. a)
rT17MMA Unknown owner (unpublished)
rT18MMA Unknown owner (unpublished)
rT19MMA Nakht (unpublished)
rT20MMA Rennofer (W.C. HAYES, The tomb of Nefer-Khewet (1935), p. 22, fig. 1)
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rT22mma Ahmes (PM I<sup>2</sup>, 2, p. 654)
rT23mma Iuy (PM I<sup>2</sup>, 2, p. 626; H.E. WINLOCK, The Egyptian Expedition 1922-23 (1923), p. 31)
rT01ndg Senebmiu (PM I<sup>2</sup>, 2, p. 611; N. de Garis DAVIES, The Tomb of Tetaky (1925), p. 12)
rT01NY Unknown owner (unpublished)
rT02NY Puhor Senbu (unpublished)
rT03NY Unknown owner (unpublished)
rT04NY Reri (W.C. HAYES, The Scepter of Egypt (1959), vol. II, p. 31, fig. 13)
rT05NY Nensemkhtuf (?) (unpublished)
rT06NY Teti (unpublished)
rT07NY Unknown owner (B. LÜSCHER, Untersuchungen zu Totenbuch Spruch 151 (1998), pls. 13-5)
rT08NY Unknown owner (A.M. LYTHGOE, A. LANSING, N. de Garis DAVIES, The Egyptian Expedition 1915-
16 (1917), fig. 10)
rT09NY Unknown owner (H.E. WINLOCK, The Egyptian Expedition 1921-22 (1922), fig. 3)
rT10NY Unknown owner (E. GRAEFE, The Royal Cache (2003), pl. 17)
rT01P Sekhemre Wepmaat Antef (H.E. WINLOCK, The tombs of the kings of the seventeenth dynasty (1924),
p. 234-7, pl. 14 [left])
rT02P Sekhemre Heruhirmaat Antef (H.E. WINLOCK, The tombs of the kings of the seventeenth dynasty
(1924), p. 267-8, pl. 21 [left])
rT01PH Unknown owner (M.B. BRUYÈRE, Les fouilles de Deir el Médineh (1934-1935) (1937), p. 199-201,
fig. 10 [no. 1389])
rT01Pi Unknown owner (G. MINIACI, M. BETRÒ, The fragments of rishi coffins (2009), p. 9-20, pls. 1-3)
rT02Pi Unknown owner (unpublished)
rT01Ry Unknown owner (unpublished)
rT01VA Hornakht (A. MARIETTE, Monuments divers (1892), p. 16-7, pl. 51)
rT02VA Unknown owner (F. TIRADRITTI, Luigi Vassalli and the archaeological season at western Thebes
(2010), p. 336, pl. 115)
rT03VA Rensesenebu (F. TIRADRITTI, Luigi Vassalli and the archaeological season at western Thebes
(2010), p. 336, pl. 116)
rT04VA Unknown owner (unpublished)
rT05VA Unknown owner (unpublished)
rT06VA Unknown owner (unpublished)
rT07VA Unknown owner (unpublished)
rT08VA Unknown owner (unpublished)
rT09VA Unknown owner (unpublished)
rT10VA Unknown owner (unpublished)
rT11VA Unknown owner (unpublished)
rT12VA Unknown owner (unpublished)
rX01BO Unknown owner (S. D'AURIA, P. LACOVARA, C.H. ROEHRIG, Mummies & Magic (1988), p. 131, no.
64)
rX01C Unknown owner (unpublished)
rX02C Unknown owner (unpublished)
rX03C Unknown owner (unpublished)
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rT21mma Unknown owner (unpublished)

rX01Lei Montunakht (P.A.A. BOESER, Beschreibung der aegyptischen Sammlung (1910), vol. II, p. 3-4, pl. 8)

Concordance of Museum/Archive numbers and Catalogue numbers

Museum inventory number

British Museum - London		Museum of Fine Arts - Boston			
EA 6652 EA 6653 EA 52950 EA 52951 EA 54350	rT01BM rT04BM rT03BM rT02BM rT05BM	Eg. Inv. 151 1987.490a, b	rGi10BO rX10BO		
L1 34330	71030111	Museé du Louvre - Paris			
Egyptian Museum - Cairo		E. 3019 E. 3020	rT01P rT02P		
CG 61001 CG 61004 JE 26209 JE 28501	rT01C rT04C rT01C rT02C	Náprstek Museum - Prague			
JE 43634 JE 43639 JE 43640 TR 5.12.25.2	rT15C rT14C rT13C rT06C	P626	rT01PH		
TR 7.12.25.1 TR 14.12.27.12	rT08C rT03C	National Museums Scotland - Edin			
TR 19.11.27.1 TR 19.11.27.5 TR 22.11.16.1 TR 22.11.16.2	rT11C rT05C rT10C rT07C	A.1909.527.1-1A	rT01ED		
List of coffins with wrong numbers		Rijksmuseum van Oudheden - Leiden			
rT09C, rT12C, rX01C, rX02C, r		AMM 25	rX01Lei		
Metropolitan Museum of Art - Nev	v York	Staatliche Sammlung Ägyptischer München	<u>Kunst -</u>		
MMA 12.181.299 MMA 12.181.300 MMA 12.181.301 MMA 14.10.1 MMA 23.3.461	rT04NY rT06NY rT05NY rT07NY rT09NY	ÄS 608 ÄS 1332 ÄS 7163	rT01ÄS rT02ÄS rX01ÄS		
MMA 30.3.4 MMA 30.3.5 MMA 30.3.6 MMA 30.3.7 MMA 32.3.419	rT08NY rT03NY rT01NY rT02NY rT10NY				

Archive inventory number

AV f. 36r	rT01VA	MMA photo 5A, 355	rT14MMA
AV f. 37r	rT02VA	MMA photo 5A, 366	rT18MMA
AV f. 39r	rT03VA	MMA photo 5A, 369	rT15MMA
		MMA photo 5A, 373	rT17MMA
GIArch. Carter Mss i.J.19	rT02CarCa	MMA photo 5A, 373	rT16MMA
GIArch. Carter Mss. i.J.058	rT03CarCa	MMA photo 5A, 376	rT16MMA
		MMA photo 5A, 377	rT16MMA
MMA photo 5A, 205	rT02MMA	MMA photo 5A, 380	rT17MMA
MMA photo 5A, 222	rT05MMA	MMA photo 5A, 395	rT19MMA
MMA photo 5A, 232	rT06MMA	MMA photo 5A, 396	rT19MMA
MMA photo 5A, 245	rT08MMA	MMA photo 5A, 397	rT19MMA
MMA photo 5A, 246	rT08MMA	MMA photo 5A, 454	rT04MMA
MMA photo 5A, 246	rT09MMA	MMA photo 5A, 481	rT13MMA
MMA photo 5A, 286	rT10MMA	MMA photo 5A, 555	rT11MMA
MMA photo 5A, 277	rT11MMA	MMA photo 5A, 568	rT16MMA
MMA photo 5A, 318	rT12MMA	MMA photo 5A, 581	rT01MMA
MMA photo 5A, 332	rT07MMA	MMA photo 5A, 671	rT03MMA
MMA photo 5A, 345	rT14MMA		

Distribution List

Provenance		Rishi coffin according the Catalogue number
Giza	between mastabas 3040- 3030	rGi01BO
Saqqara	tomb N1	rSq01FiGu, rSq01knw, rSq02knw, rSq03knw
Mostagedda	burial 3243	rMo01br
Thebes		
Thebes	-	rT03BM, rT04BM, rT09C, rT10C, rT11C, rT12C
Dra Abu el-Naga	-	rT05C
Dra Abu el-Naga north		rT02C, rT03C, rT01ED, rT01VA, rT02VA, rT03VA, rT04va, rT05va, rT06va, rT07va, rT08va, rT09va, rT10va, rT11va, rT12va
Main hill (Dra Abu el-Naga north)		rT01BM, rT01ma (?), rT01P, rT02P, rT01Pi, rT02Pi,
Dra Abu el-Naga south	el-Mandara (tomb 74)	rT28carca, rT29carca
	tomb of Tetiky (TT 15)	rT08CarCa, rT01ndg
el-Birabi C37 (Dra Abu el-Naga south)	tomb 27	rT07carca
-	tomb 32	rT01CarCa
	tomb 37	rT13C, rT14C, rT15C, rT03CarCa, rT04carca, rT05carca, rT06carca
el-Birabi C62 (Dra Abu el-Naga south)	-	rT01ÄS, rT02ÄS
	tomb 43 (P4)	rT25carca, rT26carca
	tomb 44 (P6)	rT02CarCa
	tomb 45	rT11carca
	tomb 46	rT12carca, rT02BM (?), rT04NY, rT05NY
	tomb 47	rT06C, rT07C, rT13carca, rT14carca, rT15carca, rT16carca, rT17carca, rT18carca, rT19carca, rT06NY
	tomb 49 (P5)	rT27carca
	tomb 62	rT09carca, rT10carca
	tomb 63	rT20carca, rT21carca
	tomb 64	rT05BM, rT22carca, rT23carca, rT24carca, rT07NY
	tomb R2	rT01MMA, rT02MMA, rT03MMA, rT04MMA, rT05MMA, rT06MMA, rT07MMA, rT21mma
	tomb R3	rT08MMA, rT09MMA
	tomb R4	rT10MMA, rT11MMA
	tomb R8	rT12MMA
	tomb R9	rT08NY
	tomb R11	rT13MMA
	tomb P1 (MMA)	rT14MMA
	tomb P2 (MMA)	rT15MMA, rT16MMA, rT17MMA, rT18MMA
	tomb P3 (MMA)	rT19MMA

Avenue of Tuthmosis III (Dra Abu el-Naga south)	tomb 279	rT20MMA
Deir el-Bahri	-	rT08C, rT21mma, rT23mma
	near TT 33	rT01NY, rT02NY, rT03NY
	TT 196	rT01Gr, rT02Gr
	cache TT 320	rT01C, rT04C, rT10MMA (?), rT10NY
	tomb MMA 211	rT22mma
Sankhkare cemetery	tomb MMA 1013	rT09NY
Deir el-Medina	eastern cemetery (tomb 1389)	rT01PH
Valley of the Kings	KV 60	rT01Ry

Table of rishi coffin types

Type of coffins	Number of coffins as recorded in the Catalogue
Туре А	-
Туре В	rX01Lei, rT09MMA, rT01NY (?)
Type C	rT01BM, rT05C, rT08C, rT01ED, rT08MMA (?), rT01P, rT02P, rT02VA
Type D	rT02ÄS, rX01ÄS (?), rT02BM, rT03BM, rT04BM, rX01BO, rT01C, rT02C, rT03C, rT06C, rT09C, rX01C, rX02C, rX03C, rT01CarCa, rT05MMA, rT10MMA, rT11MMA, rT12MMA, rT14MMA (?), rT17MMA (?), rT02NY (?), rT03NY (?), rT04NY, rT05NY, rT06NY, rT07NY (?), rT08NY, rT01VA, rT03VA
Туре Е	rSq01FiGu, rT01ÄS, rT07C, rT10C, rT11C, rT12C, rT13C, rT14C, rT15C, rT04carca (?), rT05carca (?), rT06carca (?), rT01MMA, rT02MMA (?), rT03MMA, rT04MMA (?), rT06MMA, rT07MMA (?), rT13MMA (?), rT15MMA, rT01PH
Type F	rT05BM, rGi01BO, rT04C, rT02CarCa, rT08CarCa, rT25carca, rT28carca (?), rT29carca (?), rT16MMA, rT18MMA, rT20MMA
Туре G	rT19MMA, rT09NY

Catalogue Section I:

rishi coffins stored in museums

Reference number: rT01ÄS

Name: -Title(s): -

Provenance: el-Birabi Tomb type/number: -Date of discovery: -

Excavation: Earl of Carnarvon and Howard Carter

Museum: Staatliche Sammlung Ägyptischer Kunst

- München

Museum accession number: ÄS 608

Material: wood, stucco, paint

Condition: complete

Height: -Width: -Depth: -

Type: E

Date: late 17th/early 18th dynasty

Bibliography: -

Credits: Photo by G. Miniaci © reproduction courtesy of Staatalische Sammlung Ägyptischer

Kunst, München



References in the text: p. 35 n. 231; p. 39 n. 259

rT02ÄS

Reference number: rT02ÄS

Name: -Title(s): -

Provenance: el-Birabi Tomb type/number: -Date of discovery: -

Excavation: Earl of Carnarvon and Howard

Carter

Museum: Staatliche Sammlung Ägyptischer

Kunst - München

Museum accession number: ÄS 1332

Material: wood, stucco, paint

Condition: damaged; part of the foot-board is

missing

Height: 191 cm Width: 49 cm Depth: -

Type: D

Date: late 17th dynasty



References in the text: p. 31 n. 206

Bibliography: Staatlische Sammlung Ägyptischer Kunst (1976), p. 163; A. GRIMM, S. SCHOSKE, Im Zeichen des Mondes (1999), p. 95, Cat. 11

Credits: Photos by G. Miniaci © reproduction courtesy of Staatlische Sammlung Ägyptischer Kunst, München





50 cm

Reference number: rX01ÄS

Name: Satdjehuty

Title(s): "king's daughter", s3t nswt

Provenance: -

Tomb type/number: - Date of discovery: -

Excavation: -

Museum: Staatliche Sammlung Ägyptischer Kunst

- München

Museum accession number: ÄS 7163

Material: wood covered by gold leaf

Condition: fragment; only the upper part of the

coffin is preserved

Height: 34 cm **Width**: 60,3 cm

Depth: -

Type: D (?)

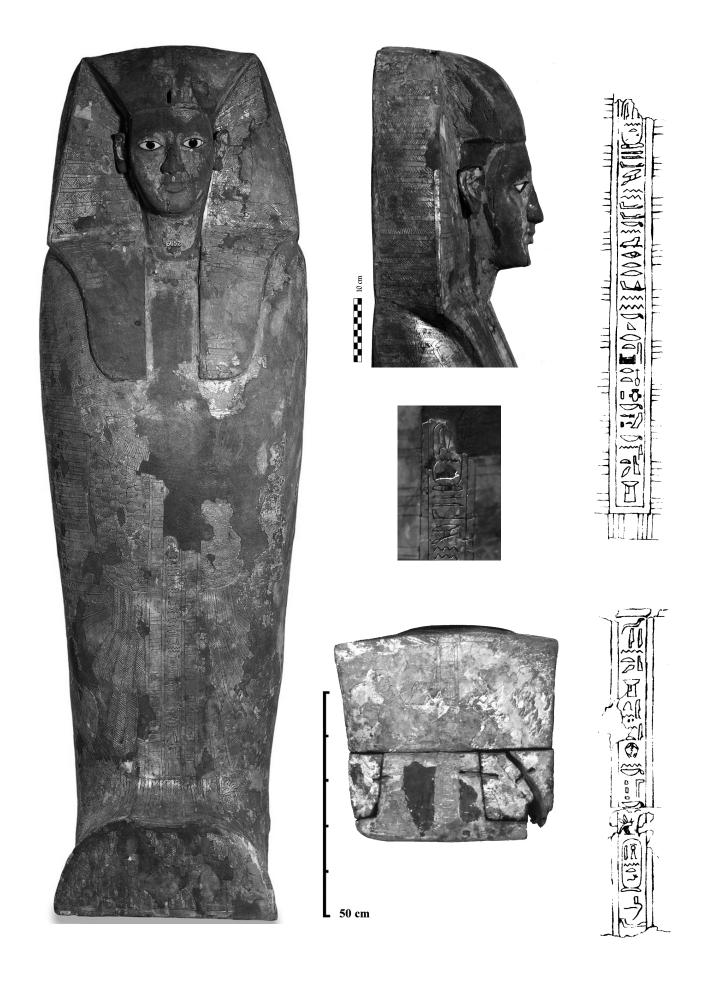
Date: late 17th dynasty, reign of Sequenere Djehuty-aa

Bibliography: A. GRIMM, S. SCHOSKE, Im Zeichen des Mondes (1999), p. 2-33, 92, cat. no. 1

Credits: Photo by G. Miniaci © reproduction courtesy of Staatalische Sammlung Ägyptischer Kunst, München



References in the text: p. 122-3; p. 24 n. 154; p. 25 n. 160; p. 30 n. 196, n. 199, n. 201; p. 32 n. 211; **Figs**. 25, 126 - **Pl**. 4.c



Reference number: rT01BM

Name: Nubkheperre Antef **Title**(s): "king", *nswt*

Provenance: Dra Abu el-Naga, main hill **Tomb type/number**: the remains of his pyramid has been recently found south-west of TT 13

Date of discovery: 1827

Excavation: Giovanni d'Athanasi

Museum: British Museum - London **Museum accession number**: EA 6652

Material: sycamore wood covered by gold leaf

Condition: complete

Height: 192,5 cm **Width**: 60,5 cm **Depth**: 48 cm

Type: C

Date: first phase of the late 17th dynasty,

reign of Nubkheperre Antef

Bibliography: PM I², 2, p. 602; V. SCHMIDT, Sarkofager (1919), p. 49, figs. 285-7; H.E. WINLOCK, The tombs of the kings of the seventeenth dynasty (1924), p. 226-33, pl. 14 [right]; C. ANDREWS, Egyptian Mummies (1984), p. 43, fig. 44; M. DEWACHTER, L'exploitation de la nécropole royale de Dra Aboul Neggah (1985). p. 44-52; J.H. TAYLOR, Egyptian Coffins (1989), p. 26, fig. 19; S. QUIRKE, Rischisarg eines Königs Intef (1994), p. 275-6; W.V. DAVIES, Ancient Egyptian Timber Imports (1995), cat. n. 32, pl. 32.1; K.S.B. RYHOLT, The Political Situation (1997), p. 394, File 17/4; A. DODSON, After the Pyramids (2000), p. 18-9, fig. 14; J.H. TAYLOR, Death and the Afterlife (2001), p. 78, fig. 45 (detail); D. POLZ, Der Beginn des Neuen Reiches (2007), p. 22-5, Kat. 37, pls. 2-4

For the tomb of Nubkheperre Antef, see: D. POLZ, A. SEILER, *Die Pyramidenanlage des Königs Nub-Cheper-Re Intef* (2003)

Credits: Photos © courtesy of the Trustees of the British Museum, London



References in the text: p. 21, 70-1, 118-9; p. 24 n. 154; p. 28 n. 188; p. 30 n. 201; p. 31 n. 208; p. 34 n. 226; p. 35 n. 233; p. 36 n. 239; p. 38 n. 245, n. 250; p. 129 n. 913; p. 141 n. 992 **Figs.** 22, 33.b, 122, 123



rT02BM

Reference number: rT02BM

Name: -Title(s): -

Provenance: el-Birabi

Tomb type/number: 62/46 or 62/47 (?) [complex C 62, tomb no. 46 or 47] **Date of discovery**: 1911-1914

Excavation: Earl of Carnarvon and Howard Carter

Museum: British Museum - London **Museum accession number**: EA 52951

Material: sycamore wood **Condition**: complete

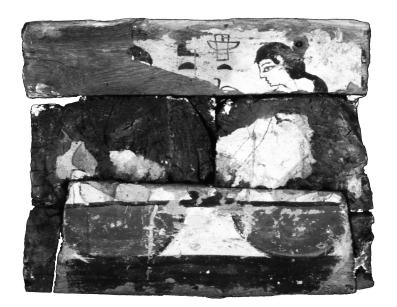
Height: 194 cm Width: 46 cm Depth: 59,5 cm

Type: D

Date: late 17th/early 18th dynasty

Bibliography: W.V. DAVIES, *Ancient Egyptian Timber Imports* (1995), cat. n. 35, pl. 32.3; J.H. TAYLOR, N.C. STRUDWICK, *Mummies* (2005), p. 50-1

Credits: Photos © courtesy of the Trustees of the British Museum, London



References in the text: p. 24 n. 153; p. 31 n. 204; p. 32 n. 211; p. 38 n. 246, n. 250



Reference number: rT03BM

Name: -Title(s): -

Provenance: Thebes **Tomb type/number**: -

Date of discovery: purchased in 1914

Excavation: perhaps coming from the excavations of the Earl of Carnaryon and Howard Carter

Museum: British Museum - London **Museum accession number**: EA 52950

Material: sycamore wood **Condition**: complete

Height: 193 cm Width: 47 cm Depth: 49 cm

Type: D

Date: late 17th/early 18th dynasty

Bibliography: W.V. DAVIES, Ancient Egyptian

Timber Imports (1995), cat. n. 34, pl. 32.2

Credits: Photos © courtesy of the Trustees of the

British Museum, London



10 cm

References in the text: p. 38 n. 242

Figs. 24, 30



Reference number: rT04BM

Name: -Title(s): -

Provenance: Thebes
Tomb type/number: -

Date of discovery: purchased from Joseph Sams

Excavation: -

Museum: British Museum - London **Museum accession number**: EA 6653

Material: sycamore wood **Condition**: complete

Height: 185,5 cm Width: 53 cm Depth: 43 cm

Type: D

Date: late 17th/early 18th dynasty



Bibliography: W.V. DAVIES, *Ancient Egyptian Timber Imports* (1995), cat. n. 33 (no image)

Credits: Photos © courtesy of the Trustees of the British Museum, London



References in the text: p. 26 n. 169; p. 32 n. 211; p. 38 n. 242, n. 250 **Pl.** 8.c





Reference number: rT05BM

Name: Tawy Title(s): -

Provenance: el-Birabi

Tomb type/number: 62/64.15

[complex C 62, tomb no. 64, coffin no. 15]

Date of discovery: 1911-1914

Excavation: Earl of Carnarvon and Howard Carter

Museum: British Museum - London **Museum accession number**: EA 54350

Material: sycamore wood Condition: complete

Height: 195 cm Width: 50,5 cm Depth: 72,5 cm

Type: F

Date: early 18th dynasty

Bibliography: PM I², 2, p. 827; A. NIWINSKI, 21st Dynasty Coffins from Thebes (1988), p. 10, fig. 7 (drawing), p. 11, n. 21; N.C. REEVES, J.H. TAYLOR, Howard Carter before Tutankhamun (1992), p. 100; W.V. DAVIES, Ancient Egyptian Timber Imports (1995), cat. n. 36 (no image)

Credits: Photos © courtesy of the Trustees of the

British Museum, London



10 cm

References in the text: p. 145-6; p. 30 n. 197; p. 32 n. 211; p. 40 n. 277, n. 279; p. 96 n. 656

Figs. 122, 156

rGi01BO

Reference number: rGi01BO

Name: -Title(s): -

Provenance: Giza, western cemetery

Tomb type/number: intrusive burial located between

mastabas 3040 and 3030 **Date of discovery**: 1915

Excavation: Clarence S. Fisher, University Museum

of the University of Pennsylvania

Museum: Museum of Fine Arts - Boston **Museum accession number**: Eg. Inv. 151

Material: stucco, paint Condition: fragments

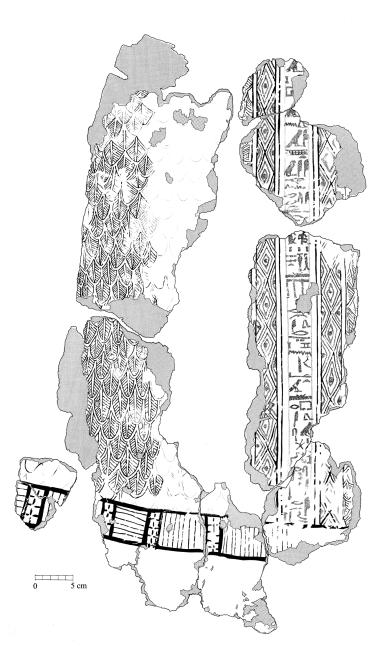
Height: 74 cm Width: 30 cm Depth: -

Type: F

Date: early 18th dynasty

Bibliography: P. LACOVARA, *A rishi coffin from Giza* (2007), fig. 1

Credits: Drawing of Andrew Boyce, courtesy of Peter Lacovara



References in the text: p. 47

Reference number: rX01BO

Name: -Title(s): -

Provenance: -

Tomb type/number: -

Date of discovery: purchased in 1987

Excavation: -

Museum: Museum of Fine Arts - Boston **Museum accession number**: 1987.490a, b

Material: painted wood **Condition**: complete

Height: 158 cm Width: 36 cm Depth: 33,5 cm

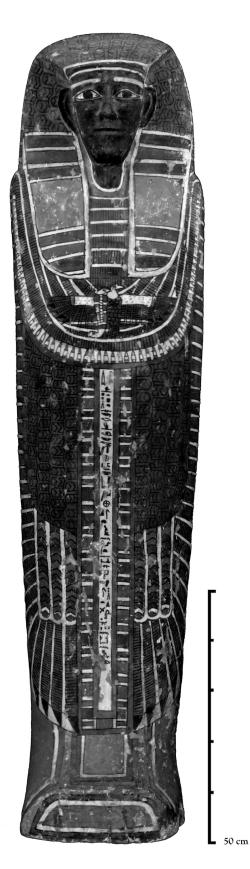
Type: D

Date: late 17th/early 18th dynasty

Bibliography: S. D'AURIA, P. LACOVARA, C.H. ROEHRIG, *Mummies & Magic* (1988), p. 131, no. 64

Credits : Photo @ courtesy of Museum of Fine Arts,

Boston



References in the text: p. 26 n. 169; p. 34 n. 226; p. 36 n. 241; p. 38 n. 243; p. 133 n. 942

rT01C

Reference number: rT01C

Name: Sequenere Djehuty-aa

Title(s): "king", nswt

Provenance: Valley south of Deir el-Bahri **Tomb type/number**: TT 320 (royal cache)

Date of discovery: 1881 **Excavation**: Gaston Maspero

Museum: Egyptian Museum - Cairo

Museum accession number: JE 26209/CG 61001

Material: cedar wood, stucco, fragments of gold leaf Condition: complete; originally the coffin was

entirely covered by gold leaf

Height: 212 cm Width: 70 cm Depth: 58 cm

Type: D

Date: late 17th dynasty,

reign of Seqenenre Djehuty-aa

Bibliography: PM, I², 2, p. 658; M.G. DARESSY, Cercueils des cachettes royales (1909), p. 1-2, pls. 1-2; V. SCHMIDT, Sarkofager (1919), p. 97, fig. 514; H.E. WINLOCK, The tombs of the kings of the seventeenth dynasty (1924), p. 248-9, pl. 16 [left]; M. EATON-KRAUSS, The coffins of Queen Ahhotep (1990), p. 195-205; K.S.B. RYHOLT, The Political Situation (1997), p. 397, File 17/8; D. POLZ, Der Beginn des Neuen Reiches (2007), p. 349, Kat. 60, pl. 8

Credits: from M.G. DARESSY, *Cercueils des cachettes royales* (1909), pl. 1



50 cm

References in the text: p. 119; p. 25 n. 157; p. 28 n. 188; p. 30 n. 201; p. 39 n. 262; p. 119 n. 839; p. 125 n. 875

Fig. 36

1111

Reference number: rT02C

Name: Ahhotep

Title(s): "great king's wife", hmt nswt wrt; "the associate of the white crown bearer", hnmt nfr hdt

Provenance: Dra Abu el-Naga north

Tomb type/number: placed at a depth of some meters in the surface-rubbish and sand (Mariette)

Date of discovery: 1859 Excavation: Auguste Mariette

Museum: Egyptian Museum - Cairo

Museum accession number: JE 4663 (burial)/

JE 28501 (lid)

Material: cedar wood, gold leaf on a base of gesso

Condition: complete

Height: 212 cm Width: 66 cm Depth: -

Type: D

Date: late 17th dynasty,

reign of Segenenre Djehuty-aa (?)

Bibliography: PM, I², 2, p. 600-2; V. SCHMIDT, Sarkofager (1919), p. 52, figs. 300-1; L. TROY, Ahhotep- A source evaluation (1979), p. 81-91; M. EATON-KRAUSS, The coffins of Queen Ahhotep (1990), p. 195-205; A. MACY ROTH, The Ahhotep coffins (1999), p. 361-77, fig. 34.1; M. EATON-KRAUSS, Encore: the coffins of Ahhotep (2003), p. 75-89

Credits: Photo by G. Miniaci © reproduction courtesy of Egyptian Museum, Cairo



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References in the text: p. 55-6, 123-4; p. 25 n. 157; p. 30 n. 199, n. 201; p. 38 n. 250; p. 125 n. 875; p. 143 n. 1009

Figs. 34.c, 127.a, 152 - Pl. 1.a



50 cm

Reference number: rT03C

Name: Wadjkheperre Kamose

Title(s): "king", nswt

Provenance: Dra Abu el-Naga north **Tomb type/number**: hidden in a mass

of rubbish (*Mariette*) **Date of discovery**: 1857 **Excavation**: Auguste Mariette

Museum: Egyptian Museum - Cairo

Museum accession number: TR 14.12.27.12

Material: sycamore wood, stucco, paint

Condition: complete

High: 202 cm Width: 53 cm Depth: 56 cm

Type: D

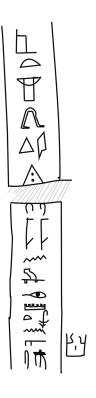
Date: late 17th dynasty, reign of Kamose

Bibliography: PM, I², 2, p. 600; M.G. DARESSY, *Le cercueil du roi Kamès* (1908), p. 61-3, pl. 9; V. SCHMIDT, *Sarkofager* (1919), p. 52, figs. 298-9; H.E. WINLOCK, *The tombs of the kings of the seventeenth dynasty* (1924), p. 259-65, pl. 21 [right]; K.S.B. RYHOLT, *The Political Situation* (1997), p. 398, File 17/9; C. ZIEGLER, *Des dieux, des tombeaux, un savant* (2004), p. 223; D. POLZ, *Der Beginn des Neuen Reiches* (2007), p. 351, Kat. 69, pl. 9

Credits: Photos by G. Miniaci © reproduction

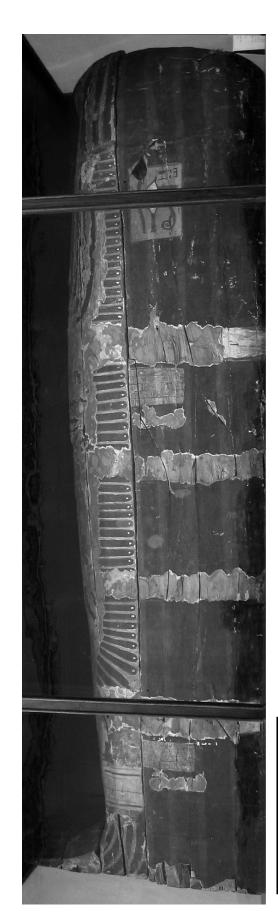
courtesy of Egyptian Museum, Cairo

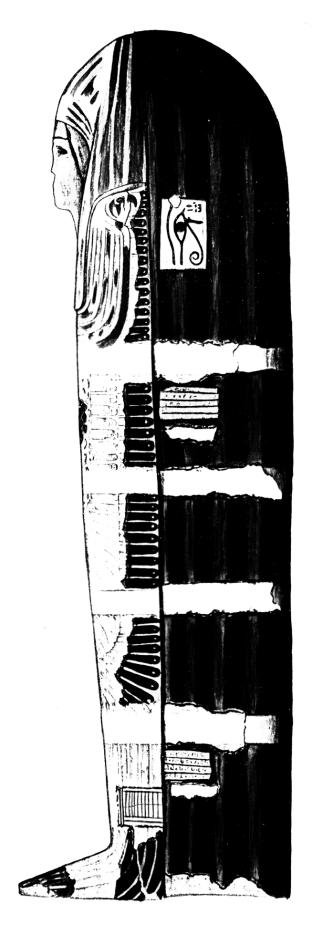




References in the text: p. 27, 54-5, 121, 125, 142; p. 24 n. 154; p. 25 n. 157; p. 28 n. 188; p. 30 n. 200; p. 31 n. 208; p. 34 n. 226; p. 38 n. 242, n. 250; p. 39 n. 268; p. 132 n. 933

Figs. 27, 122 - Pls. 1.c, 8.a [c]





50 cm

Reference number: rT04C

Name: Rai

Title(s): "royal nurse", mn^ct

Provenance: Valley south of Deir el-Bahri **Tomb type/number**: TT 320 (royal cache)

Date of discovery: 1881 **Excavation**: Gaston Maspero

Museum: Egyptian Museum - Cairo **Museum accession number**: CG 61004

Material: sycamore and acacia wood, stucco, paint

Condition: severely damaged by robbers; some traces of its original decoration are visible on the sides; inside the coffin was found the mummy of queen Inhapy

Height: 239 cm Width: 74 cm Depth: -

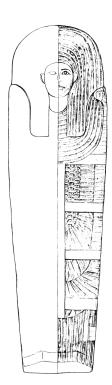
Type: F

Date: early 18th dynasty, reign of Tuthmosis I

Bibliography: PM I², 2, p. 658-9; M.G. DARESSY, *Cercueils des cachettes royales* (1909), p. 4-7, pls. 5-6 [left]; V. SCHMIDT, *Sarkofager* (1919), p. 101, fig. 531

Credits: Photo by G. Miniaci © reproduction courtesy of Egyptian Museum, Cairo/drawings by A.D. Boyce, courtesy of Peter Lacovara





References in the text: p. 126, 145; p. 30 n. 197; p. 36 n. 240; p. 38 n. 250; p. 40 n. 277 **Figs**. 38, 130



Reference number: rT05C

Name: Teti

Title(s): "commander of the ruler's crew", 3tw n tt hk3

Provenance: Dra Abu el-Naga

Tomb type/number: -

Date of discovery: stored in Cairo Museum since 1913

Excavation: -

Museum: Egyptian Museum - Cairo

Museum accession number: TR 19.11.27.5

Material: wood (sycamore?), stucco, paint

Condition: complete

Height: 203 cm Width: 41 cm Depth: -

Type: C

Date: late 17th dynasty

Bibliography: PM I², 2, p. 614 (erroneously called Houkitari); G. MASPERO, Guide (1913), no. 3102

Credits: Photos by G. Miniaci © reproduction courtesy of Egyptian Museum, Cairo



References in the text: p. 129-30, 141-2; p. 30 n. 196, n. 200; p. 34 n. 226; p. 36 n. 239; p. 38 n. 244; p. 39 n. 267, n. 269; p. 40 n. 271

Figs. 34.a, 134, 149, 150 - Pls. 2.a, 3.a





Reference number: rT06C

Name: Amenhotep

Title(s): "accountant of the treasurer", sš n imy-r htmt

Provenance: el-Birabi

Tomb type/number: 62/47.37

[complex C 62, tomb no. 47, coffin no. 37]

Date of discovery: 1911-1914

Excavation: Earl of Carnaryon and Howard Carter

Museum: Egyptian Museum - Cairo **Museum accession number**: TR 5.12.25.2

Material: wood (sycamore?), stucco, paint

Condition: complete; in some points the painted

decoration is falling away

Height: 188 cm Width: 45 cm Depth: 43cm

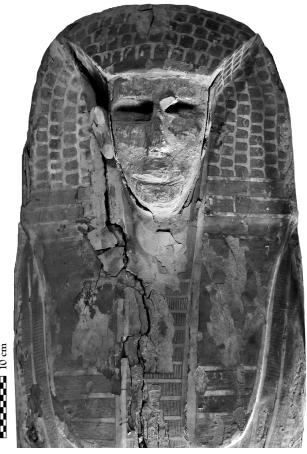
Type: D

Date: late 17th/early 18th dynasty

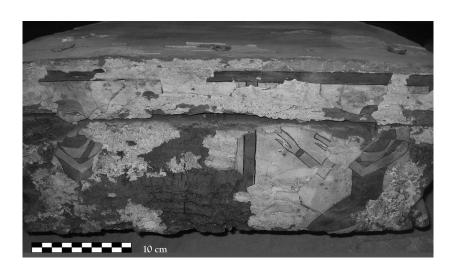
Bibliography: -

Credits: Photos by G. Miniaci © reproduction

courtesy of Egyptian Museum, Cairo







References in the text: p. 94-5, 133-4; p. 30 n. 201; p. 31 n. 203; p. 38 n. 250; p. 39 n. 268; p. 144 n. 1020 **Figs**. 140, 141 - **Pl**. 3.b





10 cm

Reference number: rT07C

Name: Renseneb

Titles: "king's son", s3 nswt

Provenance: el-Birabi

Tomb type/number: 62/47.38 [complex C 62, tomb no. 47, coffin no. 38]

Date of discovery: 1911-1914

Excavation: Earl of Carnarvon and Howard Carter

Museum: Egyptian Museum - Cairo

Museum accession number: TR 22.11.16.2

Material: wood, stucco, paint

Condition: complete; colours are faded

Height: 208 cm Width: 41 cm Depth: 45 cm

Type: E

Date: early 18th dynasty

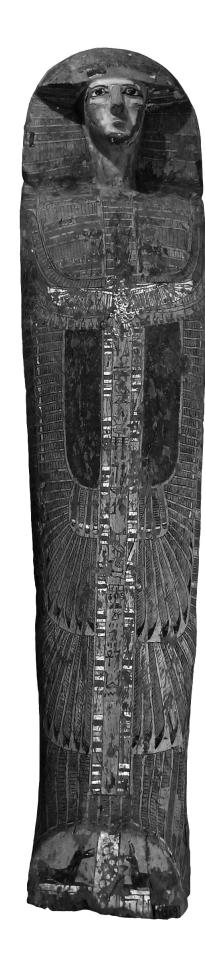
Bibliography: H.E. WINLOCK, *The tombs of the kings of the seventeenth dynasty* (1924), p. 219, n. 1 (reference)

Credits: Photos by G. Miniaci © reproduction courtesy of Egyptian Museum, Cairo



References in the text: p. 94-5, 133-4, 144; p. 26 n. 169; p. 30 n. 197

Figs. 140, 142, 154





L 50 cm

Reference number: rT08C

Name: -Title(s): -

Provenance: Deir el-Bahri (*JE*)

Tomb type/number:-Date of discovery: -

Excavation: Metropolitan Museum of Art (*JE*)

Museum: Egyptian Museum - Cairo **Museum accession number**: TR 7.12.25.1

Material: wood, stucco, paint

Condition: complete

Height: 214 cm Width: 49 cm Depth: -

Type: C

Date: late 17th dynasty

Bibliography: -

Credits: Photos by G. Miniaci © reproduction

courtesy of Egyptian Museum, Cairo



References in the text: p. 142; p. 31 n. 204; p. 32 n. 211; p. 38 n. 246

Figs. 23, 34.b, 123 - Pl. 2.b

rT09C

Reference number: rT09C

Name: -Title(s): -

Provenance: Thebes Tomb type/number: -Date of discovery: -

Excavation: -

Museum: Egyptian Museum - Cairo

Museum accession number: wrong number associated

Material: wood, stucco, paint

Condition: damaged; the upper part of the feet is

missing

Height: 185 cm Width: 42 cm Depth: 47 cm

Type: D

Date: late 17th/early 18th dynasty

Bibliography: -

Credits: Photo by G. Miniaci © reproduction courtesy

of Egyptian Museum, Cairo



50 cm

References in the text: p. 32 n. 211

Reference number: rT10C

Name: -Title(s): -

Provenance: Thebes **Tomb type/number**: -**Date of discovery**: -

Excavation: Earl of Carnarvon and Howard Carter

(TR)

Museum: Egyptian Museum - Cairo **Museum accession number**: TR 22.11.16.1

Material: wood, stucco, paint

Condition: complete; the inscription is damaged

Height: 186 cm Width: 39 cm Depth: 47 cm

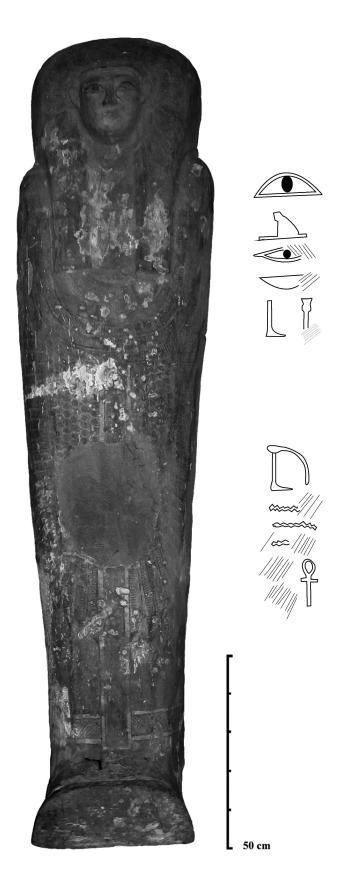
Type: E

Date: late 17th/early 18th dynasty

Bibliography: -

Credits: Photo by G. Miniaci © reproduction

courtesy of Egyptian Museum, Cairo



References in the text: p. 30 n. 197; p. 32 n. 211

Pls. 3.c, 4.b

*r*T11C

Reference number: rT11C

Name: -Title(s): -

Provenance: Thebes Tomb type/number: -Date of discovery: -Excavation: -

Museum: Egyptian Museum - Cairo

Museum accession number: TR 19.11.27.1

Material: wood, stucco, paint

Condition: damaged; the lower end of the coffin is

missing

Height: 188 cm Width: 58 cm Depth: -

Type: E

Date: late 17th/early 18th dynasty

Bibliography: -

Credits: Photo by G. Miniaci © reproduction

courtesy of Egyptian Museum, Cairo



50 cm

References in the text: p. 30 n. 202; p. 32 n. 211; p. 35 n. 231; p. 39 n. 269 **Figs**. 20, 26

Reference number: rT12C

Name: -Title(s): -

Provenance: Thebes (SS)
Tomb type/number: Date of discovery: Excavation: -

Museum: Egyptian Museum - Cairo

Museum accession number: wrong number associated

Material: wood, stucco, paint

Condition: complete

Height: 198 cm Width: 39 cm Depth: -

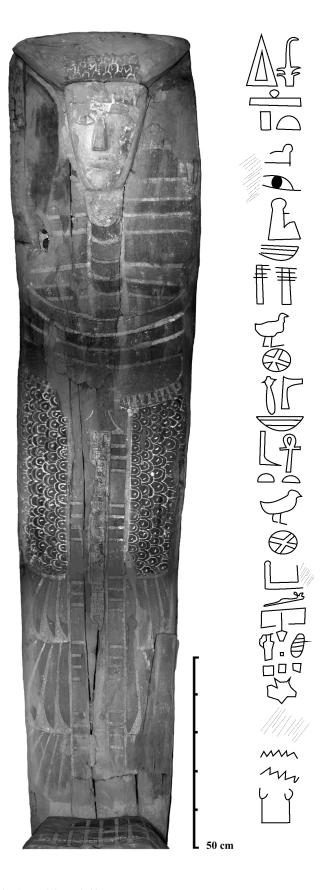
Type: E

Date: late 17th/early 18th dynasty

Bibliography: -

Credits: Photo by G. Miniaci © reproduction

courtesy of Egyptian Museum, Cairo



References in the text: p. 31 n. 204; p. 32 n. 211; p. 38 n. 251; p. 39 n. 268 **Pl.** 4.a

*r*T13C

Reference number: rT13C

Name: -Title(s): -

Provenance: el-Birabi

Tomb type/number: 37/37.66

[complex C 37, tomb no. 37 (chamber E), coffin no. 66]

Date of discovery: 1910-1911

Excavation: Earl of Carnarvon and Howard Carter

Museum: Egyptian Museum - Cairo **Museum accession number**: JE 43640

Material: wood, stucco, paint

Condition: damaged; many breaks on the surface

Height: 188 cm Width: 44 cm Depth: 66,5 cm

Type: E

Date: early 18th dynasty

Bibliography: PM I², 2, p. 616; Earl of CARNARVON, H. CARTER, *Five Years' Explorations at Thebes* (1912), p. 83

(no. 66), pl. LXII.1 (no. 66)

Egyptian Museum, Cairo





50 cm

References in the text: p. 89, 134; p. 32 n. 211; p. 35 n. 231; p. 39 n. 259, n. 270; p. 134 n. 949; p. 144 n. 1014 **Figs**. 37, 82

Reference number: rT14C

Name: -Title(s): -

Provenance: el-Birabi

Tomb type/number: 37/37.11

[complex C 37, tomb no. 37 (central passage), coffin

no. 11, placed above Cat. *r***T05carca**] **Date of discovery**: 1910-1911

Excavation: Earl of Carnarvon and Howard Carter

Museum: Egyptian Museum - Cairo **Museum accession number**: JE 43639

Material: wood, stucco, paint

Condition: damaged; many breaks on the surface

Height: 185 cm Width: 45 cm Depth: 68 cm

Type: E

Date: early 18th dynasty

Bibliography: PM I², 2, p. 616; Earl of CARNARVON, H. CARTER, *Five Years' Explorations at Thebes* (1912), p. 71 (no. 11), pl. LXII.1 (no. 11)

Credits: Photo by G. Miniaci © reproduction courtesy of Egyptian Museum, Cairo



50 cm

References in the text: p. 89; p. 32 n. 211; p. 35 n. 231; p. 38 n. 243; p. 39 n. 261; p. 48 n. 325; p. 144 n. 1014 **Fig**. 82 - **Pl**. 1.b

*r*T15C

Reference number: rT15C

Name: -Title(s): -

Provenance: el-Birabi Tomb type/number: 37/37.2

[complex C 37, tomb no. 37 (pillared hall),

coffin no. 2]

Date of discovery: 1910-1911

Excavation: Earl of Carnarvon and Howard Carter

Museum: Egyptian Museum - Cairo **Museum accession number**: JE 43634

Material: wood, stucco, paint

Condition: complete

Height: 208 cm Width: 46 cm Depth: 55 cm

Type: E

Date: early 18th dynasty

Bibliography: PM I², 2, p. 616; Earl of CARNARVON, H. CARTER, *Five Years' Explorations at Thebes* (1912), p. 70 (no. 2), pl. LXII.1 (no. 2); V. SCHMIDT, *Sarkofager* (1919), p. 115, fig. 591

 $\textbf{Credits} \hbox{: Photo by G. Miniaci \mathbb{C} reproduction courtesy}$

of Egyptian Museum, Cairo



50 cm

References in the text: p. 89; p. 32 n. 211; p. 35 n. 231; p. 38 n. 251; p. 144 n. 1014 **Fig**. 82

Reference number: rX01C

Name: -Title(s): -

Provenance: -

Tomb type/number: Date of discovery: -

Excavation: -

Museum: Egyptian Museum - Cairo

Museum accession number: wrong number associated

Material: wood, stucco, paint

Condition: damaged

Height: 190 cm Width: 46 cm Depth: -

Type: D

Date: late 17th/early 18th dynasty





References in the text: p. 38 n. 250

Bibliography: -

Credits: Photos by G. Miniaci © reproduction

courtesy of Egyptian Museum, Cairo





rX02C

Reference number: rX02C

Name: -Title(s): -

Provenance: -

Tomb type/number: Date of discovery: -

Excavation: -

Museum: Egyptian Museum - Cairo

Museum accession number: wrong number associated

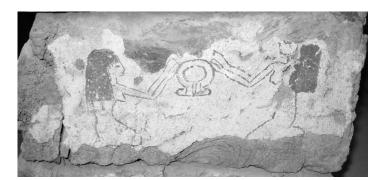
Material: wood, stucco, paint

Condition: damaged

Height: 205 cm Width: 53 cm Depth: -

Type: D

Date: late 17th/early 18th dynasty



Bibliography: -

Credits: Photos by G. Miniaci © reproduction

courtesy of Egyptian Museum, Cairo



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References in the text: p. 30 n. 197

Reference number: rX03C

Name: -Title(s): -

Provenance: -

Tomb type/number: -Date of discovery: -Excavation: -

Museum: Egyptian Museum - Cairo

Museum accession number: wrong number associated

Material: wood, stucco, paint

Condition: damaged

Height: 205 cm Width: 194 cm Depth: 59 cm

Type: D

Date: late 17th/early 18th dynasty

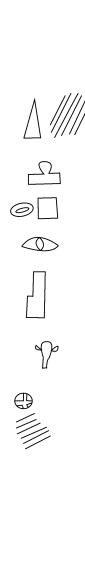


Bibliography: -

Credits: Photos by G. Miniaci © reproduction

courtesy of the Egyptian Museum, Cairo





References in the text: p. 32 n. 211

Other *rishi* coffins recorded in the Egyptian Museum registers in Cairo but not identified. Some of them could also correspond to those coffins labelled "*wrong number associated*".

JE 31896

"Achat - Bois- Cercueil dit "rischi" Dessins verts sur fond jaunâtre. Le nom du personnage est illisible. Long 2.00 m"

JE 55189

"Rishi coffin. Wood painted. L. 2.00 m H. 0.51 m W. 0.52 Deir el-Bahari (Asasif) "E. of Pabasa; Burial 6A x B27" Excavation 30,035"

SS 175

"Lid coffin of Rishi type. Wood. 17th Dynasty. L. 194 W. 46. Broken into two parts"

SS 169

"Lid coffin of Rishi type. Wood. 17th Dynasty. L. 190 W. 42. Bad condition"

Reference number: rT10C

Name: -Title(s): -

Provenance: Thebes **Tomb type/number**: - **Date of discovery**: -

Excavation: Earl of Carnarvon and Howard Carter

(TR)

Museum: Egyptian Museum - Cairo **Museum accession number**: TR 22.11.16.1

Material: wood, stucco, paint

Condition: complete; the inscription is damaged

Height: 186 cm Width: 39 cm Depth: 47 cm

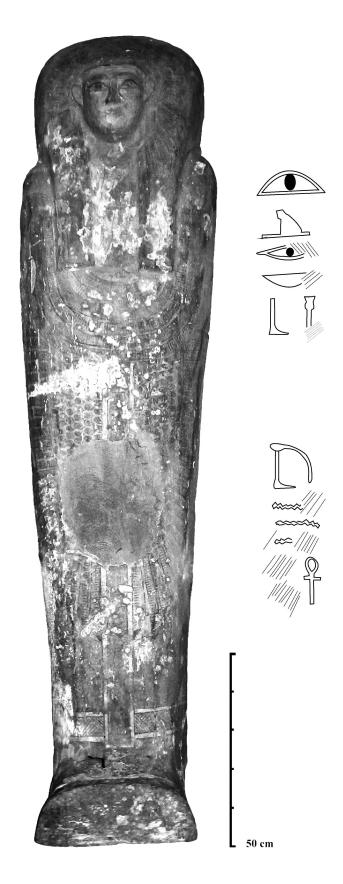
Type: E

Date: late 17th/early 18th dynasty

Bibliography: -

Credits: Photo by G. Miniaci © reproduction

courtesy of Egyptian Museum, Cairo



References in the text: p. 30 n. 197; p. 32 n. 211

Pls. 3.c, 4.b

Reference number: rT01ED

Name: -Title(s): -

Provenance: north of Dra Abu el-Naga north **Tomb type/number**: an open shallow trench

in the rock (*Petrie report*) **Date of discovery**: 1908

Excavation: Sir William Matthew Flinders Petrie

Museum: National Museums Scotland - Edinburgh **Museum accession number**: A.1909.527.1-1A

Material: sycamore wood, stucco, paint, gold foil

Condition: complete

Height: 185 cm Width: 41 cm Depth: -

Type: C

Date: late 17th dynasty (?)



Bibliography: W.M.F. Petrie, *Qurneh* (1909), p. 6-10, pls. 22-9; V. Schmidt, *Sarkofager* (1919), p. 69, figs. 364-5; K. Eremin, E. Goring, B. Manley, C. Cartwright, *A 17th Dynasty Egyptian queen in Edinburgh?* (2000), p. 32-40; C.H. Roehrig, *The burial of a royal woman* (2005), p. 15-22

Credits: Photos © courtesy of National Museums Scotland, Edinburgh



50 cm

References in the text: p. 65-6, 141; p. 32 n. 211

Figs. 59, 60, 148



250

50 cm

Reference number: rX01Lei

Name: Montunakht

Title(s): -

Provenance: -

Tomb type/number: -

Date of discovery: purchased in Livorno in 1827

Excavation: part of Anastasy collection

Museum: Rijksmuseum van Oudheden - Leiden

Museum accession number: AMM 25

[formerly S. 47, no. 9]

Material: painted wood Condition: complete

Height: 200 cm Width: 50 cm Depth: 44 cm

Type: B

Date: late 13th/early 17th dynasty

Bibliography: P.A.A. BOESER, *Beschreibung der Ägyptischen Sammlung* (1910), vol. II, p. 3-4, pl. 8; M.J. RAVEN, *De dodencultus van het Oude Egypte* (1992), p. 28-9

· // 1

Credits: Photos © courtesy of Rijksmuseum van

Oudheden, Leiden



50 cm

References in the text: p. 74, 140; p. 30 n. 196, n. 197; p. 32 n. 211; p. 36 n. 241; p. 38 n. 247 **Figs**. 34.d, 122, 146

rT01NY







50 cm

Reference number: rT01NY

Name: -Title(s): -

Provenance: Deir el-Bahri

Tomb type/number: Burial B 43, near the tomb of

Pedamenopet (TT 33)

Date of discovery: 1918-1919

Excavation: Ambrose Lansing, MMA Egyptian

Expedition

Museum: Metropolitan Museum of Art - New York

Museum accession number: MMA 30.3.6

Material: sycamore wood, stucco, paint

Condition: complete

Height: 212 cm Width: 55 cm Depth: 45 cm

Type: B (?)

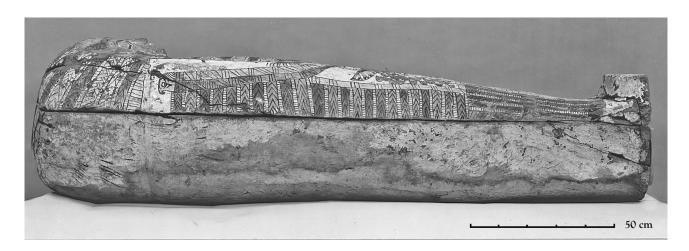
Date: late 17th dynasty

Bibliography: PM I², 2, p. 625

Credits: Photos © courtesy of Metropolitan

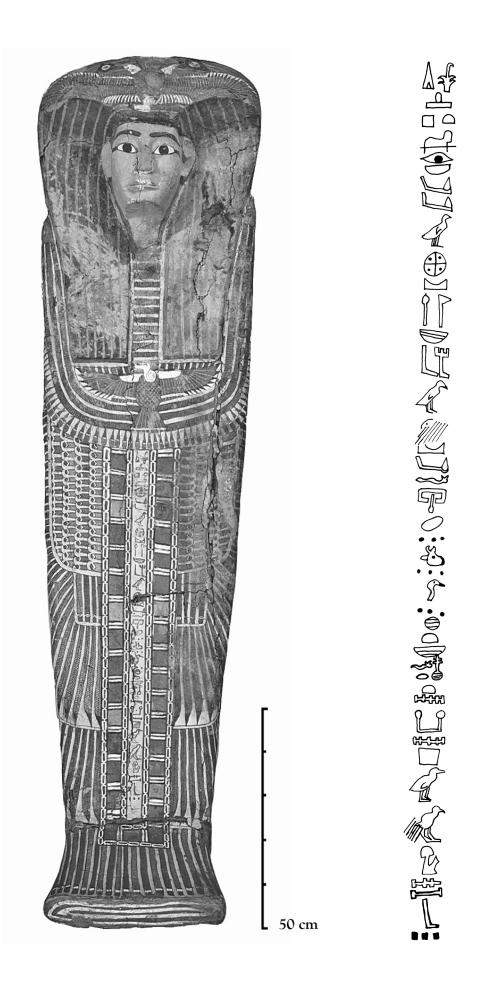
Museum of Art, New York





References in the text: p. 106, 130, 142; p. 31 n. 206; p. 32 n. 211

Fig. 136 - **Pl**. 5.a



Reference number: rT02NY

Name: Puhor Senbu

Title(s): -

Provenance: Deir el-Bahri

Tomb type/number: Burial B 44, near the tomb of Pedamenopet (TT 33)

Date of discovery: 1918-1919

Excavation: Ambrose Lansing, MMA Egyptian Expedition

Museum: Metropolitan Museum of Art - New York

Museum accession number: MMA 30.3.7

Material: sycamore wood, stucco, paint

Condition: complete

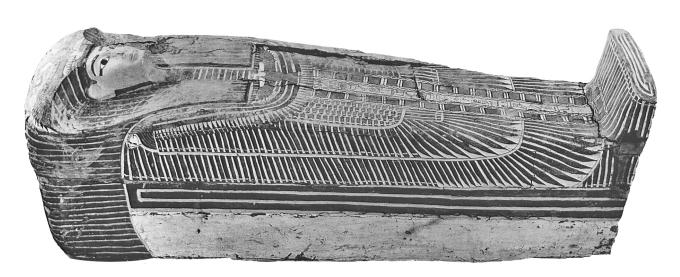
Height: 195 cm Width: 48 cm Depth: 74 cm

Type: C (?) / D

Date: late 17th dynasty

Bibliography: PM I², 2, p. 625

Credits: Photos © courtesy of Metropolitan Museum of Art, New York



. 50 cm

References in the text: p. 106-7, 130; p. 30 n. 196, n. 197; p. 32 n. 211; p. 38 n. 243; p. 39 n. 270 **Pl.** 5.b

rT03NY

Reference number: rT03NY

Name: -Title(s): -

Provenance: Deir el-Bahri

Tomb type/number: Burial B 28 (?), near the tomb

of Pedamenopet (TT 33) **Date of discovery**: 1918-1919

Excavation: Ambrose Lansing, MMA Egyptian

Expedition

Museum: Metropolitan Museum of Art - New York

Museum accession number: MMA 30.3.5

Material: sycamore wood, stucco, paint

Condition: complete

Height: 192 cm Width: 53 cm Depth: 53 cm

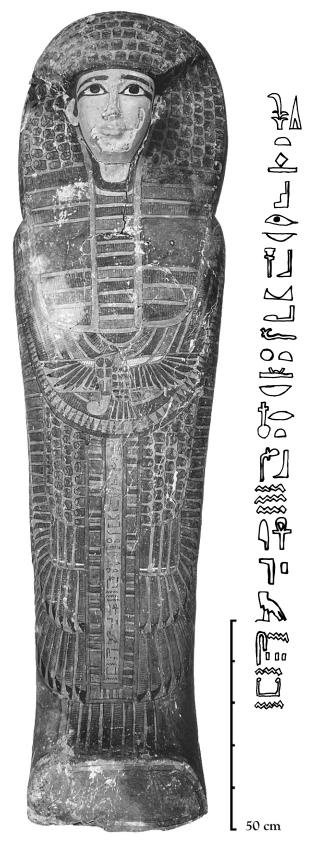
Type: C (?) / D

Date: late 17th dynasty

Bibliography: PM I², 2, p. 625

Credits: Photo © courtesy of Metropolitan Museum

of Art, New York



References in the text: p. 106, 130; p. 30 n. 202; p. 31 n. 206; p. 38 n. 242 **Fig**. 122

Reference number: rT04NY

Name: Reri

Title(s): "lady of the house", *nbt pr*

Provenance: el-Birabi Tomb type/number: 62/46.3

[complex C 62, tomb no. 46, coffin no. 3]

Date of discovery: 1911-1914

Excavation: Earl of Carnarvon and Howard Carter

Museum: Metropolitan Museum of Art - New York **Museum accession number**: MMA 12.181.299

Material: sycamore wood, stucco, paint, paraffin **Condition**: damaged; part of the foot-board is missing

Height: 190 cm Width: 50 cm Depth: 50 cm

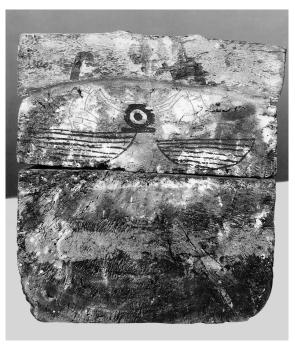
Type: D

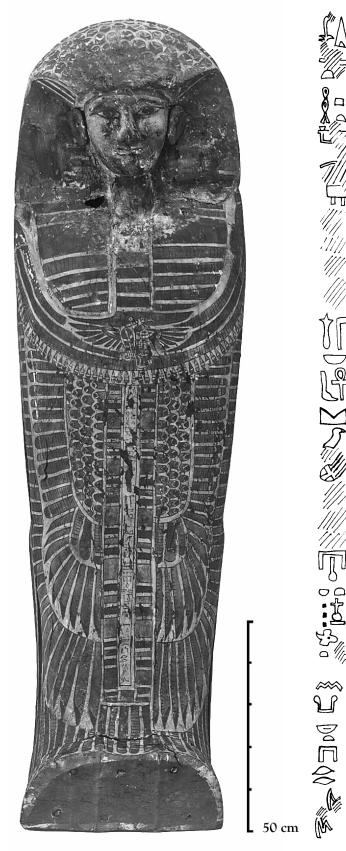
Date: late 17th/early 18th dynasty

Bibliography: PM I², 2, p. 611; W.C. HAYES, *The Scepter of Egypt* (1959), vol. II, p. 31, fig. 13; H.E. WINLOCK, *The Rise and Fall* (1947), pl. 15 [left]

Credits: Photos © courtesy of Metropolitan Museum

of Art, New York





References in the text: p. 93-4, 131, 143; p. 38 n. 250; p. 39 n. 270; p. 79 n. 548 **Figs**. 88, 91 - **Pl**. 6.a



Reference number: rT05NY

Name: Nensemkhtuf (?)

Title(s): "king's daughter", s3t nswt (?)

Provenance: el-Birabi

Tomb type/number: 62/**46.1** [complex C 62, tomb no. 46, coffin no. 1]

Date of discovery: 1911-1914

Excavation: Earl of Carnarvon and Howard Carter

Museum: Metropolitan Museum of Art New York **Museum accession number**: MMA 12.181.301

Material: sycamore wood, stucco, paint

Condition: damaged; part of the foot-board is missing

Height: 190 cm Width: 50 cm Depth: 50 cm

Type: D

Date: late 17th/early 18th dynasty

Bibliography: PM I², 2, p. 611; drawing of the pectoral decoration in P. LACOVARA, *An Ancient Egyptian Royal Pectoral* (1990), fig. 7; B. LÜSCHER, *Untersuchungen zu Totenbuch Spruch 151* (1998), pl. 12 (only foot-board)

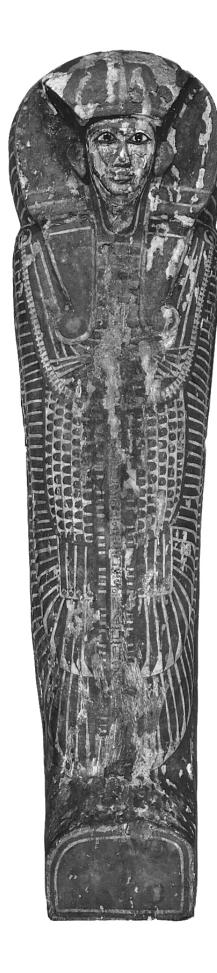
Credits: Photos © courtesy of Metropolitan Museum of Art, New York



______ 50 cm

References in the text: p. 93, 131; p. 38 n. 250; p. 39 n. 270; p. 74 n. 505

Figs. 32, 88, 90





50 cm

Bibliography: B. LÜSCHER, *Untersuchungen zu Totenbuch Spruch 151* (1998), pl. 11 (only foot-

Credits: Photos © courtesy of Metropolitan

Museum of Art, New York

board)

Reference number: rT06NY

Name: Teti

Title(s): "royal ornament", hkrt nswt

Provenance: el-Birabi

Tomb type/number: 62/47.17

[complex C 62, tomb no. 47, coffin no. 17]

Date of discovery: 1911-1914

Excavation: Earl of Carnarvon and Howard Carter

Museum: Metropolitan Museum of Art - New York

Museum accession number: MMA 12.181.300

Material: wood, stucco, paint

Condition: complete

Height: 190 cm Width: 50 cm Depth: 50 cm

Type: D

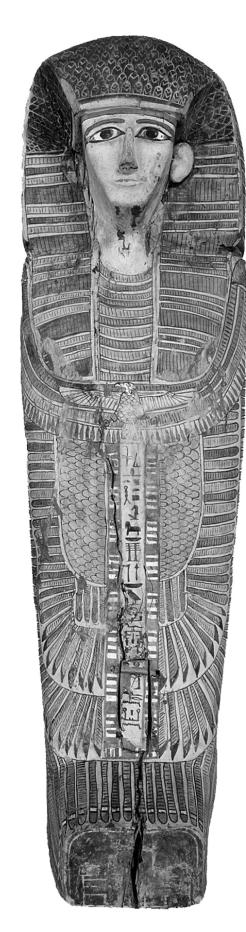
Date: 15th or late 17th/early 18th dynasty,

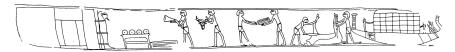
reign of Apepi/Ahmose (?)



10 cm

References in the text: p. 94-5, 125, 144-5; p. 30 n. 199, n. 201; p. 38 n. 242, n. 243 **Fig**. 92, 127.b - **Pl**. 6.b









50 cm

Reference number: rT07NY

Name: -Title(s): -

Provenance: el-Birabi

Tomb type/number: 62/**64.10** [complex C 62, tomb no. 64, coffin no. 10]

Date of discovery: 1911-1914

Excavation: Earl of Carnarvon and Howard Carter

Museum: Metropolitan Museum of Art - New York

Museum accession number: MMA 14.10.1

Material: sycamore wood, stucco, paint

Condition: complete

Height: 218 cm

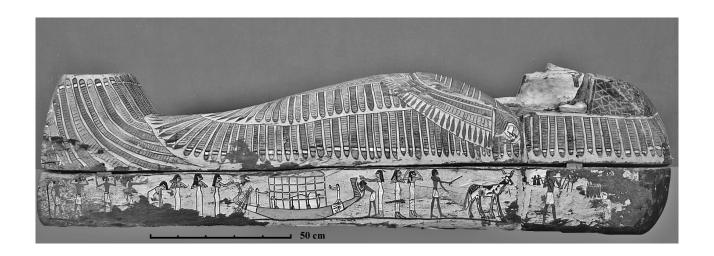
Width: Depth: 51 cm

Type: D / E (?)

Date: late 17th/early 18th dynasty

Bibliography: PM I², 2, p. 611; W.C. HAYES, *The Scepter of Egypt* (1959), vol. II, p. 31, fig. 14; H.E. WINLOCK, *The Rise and Fall* (1947), pl. 15 [right]; B. LÜSCHER, *Untersuchungen zu Totenbuch Spruch 151* (1998), pls. 13-5

Credits: Photos © courtesy of Metropolitan Museum of Art, New York



References in the text: p. 31 n. 206; p. 32 n. 211; p. 38 n. 246, n. 250; p. 40 n. 272; p. 79 n. 548; p. 96 n. 655

rT08NY

Reference number: rT08NY

Name: -Title(s): -

Provenance: el-Birabi

Tomb type/number: 62/R9.A.1

[complex C 62, tomb no. R 9, room A, coffin no. 1]

Date of discovery: 1915-1916

Excavation: Ambrose Lansing, MMA Egyptian Expedition

Museum: Metropolitan Museum of Art - New York

Museum accession number: MMA 30.3.4

Material: sycamore wood, stucco, paint

Condition: complete

Height: 178 cm Width: 52 cm Depth: 46 cm

Type: D

Date: late 17th/early 18th dynasty

Bibliography: PM I², 2, p. 618; A.M. LYTHGOE,

A. LANSING, N. de Garis DAVIES, The Egyptian Expedition

1915-16 (1917), fig. 10.

See also MMA photos 5A, 442, 443, 723, M11C, 120

Credits: Photo © courtesy of Metropolitan Museum

of Art, New York

50 cm

References in the text: p. 97, 143; p. 30 n. 196, n. 202; p. 31 n. 206; p. 32 n. 211; p. 39 n. 263 **Fig**. 96 - **Pl**. 7.a

Reference number: rT09NY

Name: -Title(s): -

Provenance: cemetery east of the Sankhkare temple **Tomb type/number**: at the mouth of the pit-tomb

no. 1013, in the rubbish (MMA card) **Date of discovery**: 1921-1922

Excavation: Herbert Winlock, MMA Egyptian

Expedition

Museum: Metropolitan Museum of Art - New York **Museum accession number**: MMA 23.3.461

Material: abies or cedar wood, paint

Condition: damaged; part of the foot-board is

missing

Height: 117 cm

Width: - Depth: -

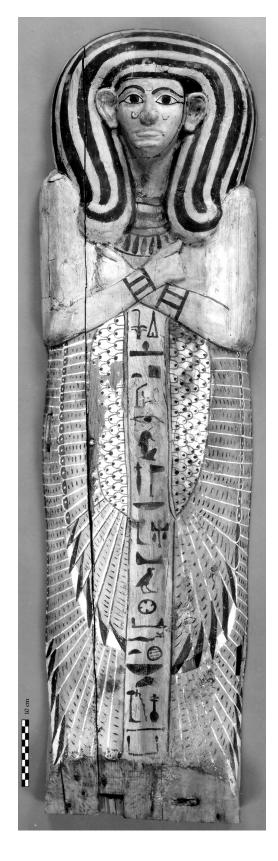
Type: G

Date: early 18th dynasty, reign of Tuthmosis I

Bibliography: PM I², 2, p. 668; H.E. WINLOCK, *The Egyptian Expedition 1921-22* (1922), fig. 3; W.C. HAYES, *The Scepter of Egypt* (1959), vol. II, fig. 131

 $\textbf{Credits} \hbox{:} \ \ \text{Photo} \ \ \mathbb{C} \ \ \text{courtesy} \ \ \text{of} \ \ \text{Metropolitan}$

Museum of Art, New York





References in the text: p. 109-10, 127, 147; p. 25 n. 158; p. 30 n. 199; p. 32 n. 211; p. 136 n. 954 **Fig**. 132 - **Pl**. 7.b

rT10NY

Reference number: rT10NY

Name: -Title(s): -

Provenance: Valley south of Deir el-Bahri

Tomb type/number: in front or inside TT 320 (royal cache)

Date of discovery: 1919

Excavation: Ambrose Lansing, MMA Egyptian Expedition

Museum: Metropolitan Museum of Art - New York **Museum accession number**: MMA 32.3.419

Material: sycamore wood, paint

Condition: fragment

Height: 22 cm Width: 53,5 cm

Depth: -

Type: part of the side of a canopic box or of an ushabti box (?)

Date: early 18th dynasty

Bibliography: PM I², 2, p. 667; A. LANSING, *Excavations at Thebes 1918-19* (1920), p. 12 (referring to late 17th/early 18th dynasty evidence); E. GRAEFE, *The Royal Cache* (2003), pl. 17; E. GRAEFE, G. BELOVA, *The Royal Cache TT 320* (2010), p. 131, pl. 52 (referring to it as part of an ushabti box of the 19th and 20th dynasty)

Credits: Photo © courtesy of Metropolitan Museum of Art, New York



References in the text: p. 31 n. 208

Reference number: rT01PH

Name: -Title(s): -

Provenance: Deir el-Medina, eastern cemetery

Tomb type/number: tomb no. 1389 Date of discovery: 1934-1935 Excavation: Bernard Bruyère

Museum: Náprstek Museum - Prague **Museum accession number**: P626

Material: painted wood Condition: complete

Height: 184 cm

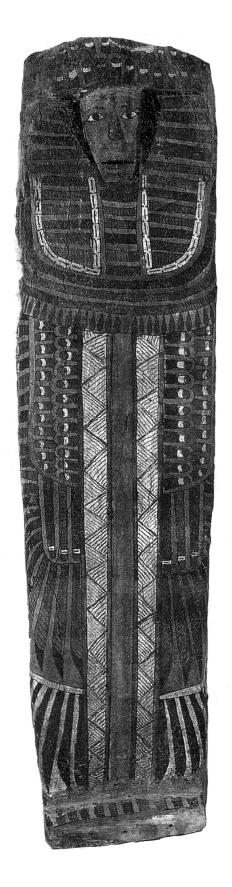
Width: -Depth: -

Type: E

Date: early 18th dynasty, reign of Tuthmosis III (?)

Bibliography: M.B. BRUYÈRE, *Les fouilles de Deir el Médineh (1934-1935)* (1937), p. 199-201, fig. 10 (no. 1389); J. MINÁŘOVÁ, P. ONDERKA, *Théby. Město Bohů a Faraonů* (2007), p. 236

Credits: Photo © courtesy of Peter Lacovara



50 cm

References in the text: p. 111, 128-9, 144; p. 32 n. 211; p. 35 n. 231; p. 39 n. 270; 48 n. 329; p. 74 n. 505 **Figs**. 115, 153







Reference number: rT01P

Name: Sekhemre Wepmaat Antef

Title(s): "king", nswt

Provenance: Dra Abu el-Naga, main hill

Tomb type/number: in burial chamber at the end

of a pit of brick (found with Cat. **rT02P**)

Date of discovery: before 1848 **Excavation**: Triantaphyllos

Museum: Museé du Louvre - Paris **Museum accession number**: E. 3019

Material: wood covered by gold leaf

Condition: complete

Height: 200 cm Width: 57 cm Depth: -

Type: C

Date: first phase of the late 17th dynasty, reign of Sekhemre Wepmaat Antef

Bibliography: PM I², 2, p. 603; H.E. WINLOCK, *The tombs of the kings of the seventeenth dynasty* (1924), p. 234-7, pl. 14 [left]; M. DEWACHTER, *L'exploitation de la nécropole royale de Dra Aboul Neggah* (1985), p. 52-9, pl. 3.a; K.S.B. RYHOLT, *The Political Situation* (1997), p. 393, File 17/3; J.H. TAYLOR, *Edward Stanley Poole's drawings* (2000), p. 155-8, pls. 20.1 and 21.1; D. POLZ, *Der Beginn des Neuen Reiches* (2007), p. 29-33, Kat. 23, pls. 6-7

Credits: Photos © 1980. Musée du Louvre/Maurice et Pierre Chuzeville



50 cı

References in the text: p. 21, 33, 71, 118-9; p. 28 n. 188; p. 30 n. 197, n. 201; p. 31 n. 208; p. 38 n. 245; p. 125 n. 875; p. 141 n. 994 **Figs.** 28, 64.a, 65, 121





Reference number: rT02P

Name: Sekhemre Heruhirmaat Antef

Title(s): "king", nswt

Provenance: Dra Abu el-Naga, main hill

Tomb type/number: in burial chamber at the end

of a pit of brick (found with Cat. **rT01P**)

Date of discovery: before 1848 **Excavation**: Triantaphyllos

Museum: Museé du Louvre - Paris **Museum accession number**: E. 3020

Material: painted wood Condition: complete

Height: 188 cm Width: 48 cm Depth: -

Type: C

Date: first phase of the late 17th dynasty, reign of Sekhemre Heruhirmaat Antef

Bibliography: PM I², 2, p. 603; V. SCHMIDT, Sarkofager (1919), p. 47, figs. 273-4, 276; H.E. WINLOCK, The tombs of the kings of the seventeenth dynasty (1924), p. 267-8, pl. 21 [left]; M. DEWACHTER, L'exploitation de la nécropole royale de Dra Aboul Neggah (1985), p. 52-9, pl. 3.b; K.S.B. RYHOLT, The Political Situation (1997), p. 395, File 17/5; J.H. TAYLOR, Edward Stanley Poole's drawings (2000), p. 155-8, pls. 20.2 and 21.2; D. POLZ, Der Beginn des Neuen Reiches (2007), p. 25-8, Kat. 55, pl. 5

Credits: Photos © 1980. Musée du Louvre/Maurice et Pierre Chuzeville



50 cr

References in the text: p. 21, 71, 118-9, 121, 132, 141; p. 26 n. 169; p. 31 n. 204; p. 32 n. 211; p. 38 n. 242; p. 125 n. 875

Figs. 24.a, 64.b, 65, 124, 147

Catalogue Section II:

rishi coffins recorded in excavations

rSq01FiGu / rSq01knw

Reference number: rSq01FiGu

Name: -Title(s): -

Provenance: Saqqara

Tomb type/number: tomb N1, on top of mastaba of

Kagemni

Date of discovery: 1926

Excavation: Cecil Firth and Battiscombe Gunn

Material: wood (?) Condition: -

Type: E

Date: early-mid 18th dynasty

Bibliography: C.M. FIRTH, B.G. GUNN, *Teti pyramid cemeteries* (1926), vol. I, p. 69-70, pl. 42

Credits: from C.M. FIRTH, B.G. GUNN, *Teti* pyramid cemeteries (1926), pl. 42.A

References in the text: p. 47, 144; p. 35 n. 231

Fig. 42



Reference number: rSq01knw

Name: Title(s): -

Provenance: Saqqara, north-west of Teti's pyramid

Tomb type/number: burial 30 Date of discovery: 1984 Excavation: Naguib Kanawati

Material: stucco, paint

Condition: fragments (headdress, face, shoulder)

Type: - Date: -

Bibliography: N. Kanawati, A. El-Khouli, A. McFarlane, N.V. Maksoud, *Excavations at*

Saqqara (1984), p. 68

References in the text: p. 47

rSq02knw / rSq03knw / rMo01br

Reference number: rSq02knw Type: -Date: -Name: -Title(s): -Bibliography: N. KANAWATI, A. EL-KHOULI, A. MCFARLANE, N.V. MAKSOUD, Excavations at **Provenance**: Saggara, north-west of Teti's pyramid Saggara (1984), p. 68 Tomb type/number: burial 32 Date of discovery: 1984 References in the text: p. 47 Excavation: Naguib Kanawati Material: stucco, paint Condition: fragments (headdress, face, chest) Reference number: rSq03knw Type: -Date: -Name: -Title(s): -Bibliography: N. KANAWATI, A. EL-KHOULI, A. MCFARLANE, N.V. MAKSOUD, Excavations at Provenance: Saggara, north-west of Teti's pyramid Saggara (1984), p. 68 Tomb type/number: burial 34 Date of discovery: 1984 Excavation: Naguib Kanawati References in the text: p. 47 Material: stucco, paint Condition: fragments (headdress, face, shoulder) Width: 45 cm (?) Reference number: rMo01br Type: -Date: -Name: -Bibliography: G. BRUNTON, Mostagedda and the Title(s): -Tasian Culture (1937), p. 120 Provenance: Mostagedda, cemetery 3200 References in the text: p. 48; p. 30 n. 201

Tomb type/number: burial no. 3243

Date of discovery: -**Excavation**: Guy Brunton

Material: wood

Height: 180 cm

Reference number: rT01CarCa

Name: -Title(s): -

Provenance: el-Birabi **Tomb type/number**: 37/**32** [complex C 37, tomb no. 32] **Date of discovery**: 1909-1911

Excavation: Earl of Carnarvon and Howard Carter

Museum: -

Museum accession number: -

Material: painted wood

Condition: fallen to piece at time of the discovered

Height: -Width:-Depth: -

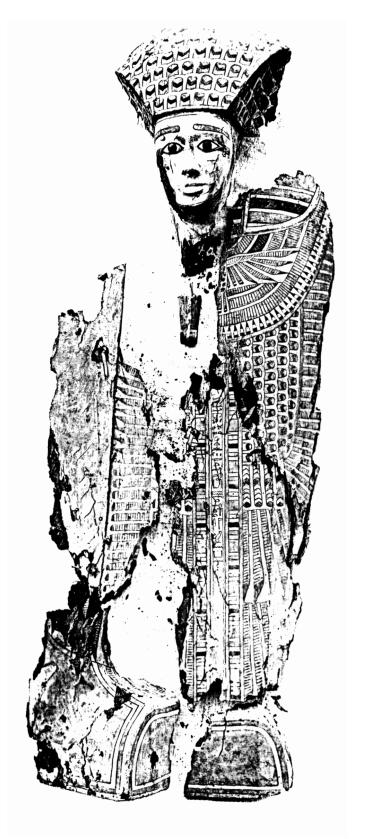
Type: D

Date: late 17th/early 18th dynasty

Bibliography: Earl of CARNARVON, H. CARTER, *Five Years' Explorations at Thebes* (1912), p. 62, pl. LIII.3

Credits: from Earl of CARNARVON, H. CARTER, *Five Years' Explorations at Thebes* (1912), pl. LIII.3





References in the text: p. 90; p. 25 n. 161; p. 38 n. 250; p. 86 n. 584

rT02CarCa

Reference number: rT02CarCa

Name: Seped

Title(s): "doorkeeper of the king", *iry-*3 *n nswt*

Provenance: el-Birabi Tomb type/number: 62/44.4

[complex C 62, tomb no. 44 (P6), coffin no. 4]

Date of discovery: 1911-1914

Excavation: Earl of Carnarvon and Howard Carter

Museum: [archive] Griffith Institute - Oxford

Museum accession number: [archive] Carter Mss. i.J.19

Material: wood Condition: -

Height: -Width: -Depth: -

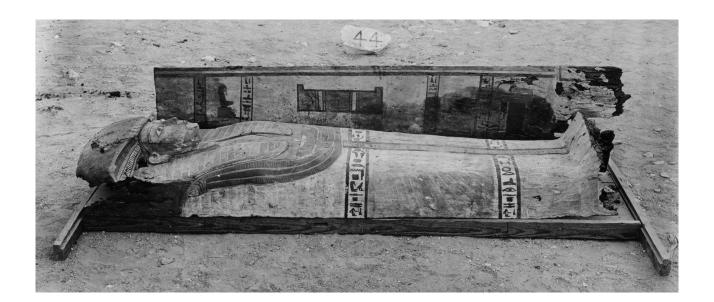
Type: F

Date: early 18th dynasty, reign of Ahmose/

Tuthmosis I (?)

Bibliography: -

Credits: Photo *GIArch*. Carter Mss. i.J.019 © courtesy of Griffith Institute, University of Oxford, UK



References in the text: p. 101, 126-7, 145; p. 32 n. 211; p. 36 n. 238; p. 40 n. 272 **Fig**. 100

Reference number: rT03CarCa

Name: -Title(s): -

Provenance: el-Birabi

Tomb type/number: 37/**37.70**

[complex C 37, tomb no. 37, chamber A,

coffin no. 70]

Date of discovery: 1910-1911

Excavation: Earl of Carnarvon and Howard Carter

Museum: -

Museum accession number: -

Material: wood Condition: -

Height: -Width: -Depth: -

Type: -

Date: early 18th dynasty

Bibliography: Earl of CARNARVON, H. CARTER, *Five Years' Explorations at Thebes* (1912), p. 84 (no. 70), pl. 58 (no. 70)

Credits: Photo *GIArch*. Carter Mss. i.J.058 © courtesy of Griffith Institute, University of Oxford, UK



References in the text: p. 89, 134; p. 38 n. 250; p. 39 n. 270

rT04carca / rT05carca / rT06carca

Reference number: rT04carca

Name: -Title(s): -

Provenance: el-Birabi

Tomb type/number: 37/37.10

[complex C 37, tomb no. 37 (central passage),

coffin no. 10]

Date of discovery: 1910-1911

Excavation: Earl of Carnarvon and Howard Carter

Material: wood

Type: E (?), *cf.* Cat. *r*T15C **Date**: early 18th dynasty (?)

Bibliography: Earl of CARNARVON, H. CARTER, *Five Years' Explorations at Thebes* (1912), p. 71

(no. 10)

References in the text: p. 89

Reference number: rT05carca

Name: -Title(s): -

Provenance: el-Birabi

Tomb type/number: 37/37.12

[complex C 37, tomb no. 37 (central passage), coffin no. 12, placed below Cat. *r*T14C]

Date of discovery: 1910-1911

Excavation: Earl of Carnarvon and Howard Carter

Material: wood

Type: E (?), *cf.* Cat. *r*T14C Date: early 18th dynasty (?)

Bibliography: Earl of CARNARVON, H. CARTER, *Five Years' Explorations at Thebes* (1912), p. 71

(no. 12)

References in the text: p. 89; p. 39 n. 270

Reference number: rT06carca

Name: Title(s): -

Provenance: el-Birabi

Tomb type/number: 37/37.60

[complex C 37, tomb no. 37, chamber E,

coffin no. 60]

Date of discovery: 1910-1911

Excavation: Earl of Carnarvon and Howard Carter

Material: wood

Type: E (?), *cf*. Cat. *r***T14C Date**: early 18th dynasty (?)

Bibliography: Earl of CARNARVON, H. CARTER, *Five Years' Explorations at Thebes* (1912), p. 82

(no. 60)

References in the text: p. 89

rT07carca / rT08CarCa / rT09carca

Reference number: rT07carca

Name: Nenen[...]

Title(s): "accountant of the army" sš n mš^c; "overseer

of the temple" imy-r hwt

Provenance: el-Birabi **Tomb type/number**: 37/**27** [complex C 37, pit-tomb no. 27] **Date of discovery**: 1910-1911

Excavation: Earl of Carnarvon and Howard Carter

Material: wood

Type: - Date: -

Bibliography: Earl of CARNARVON, H. CARTER, *Five Years' Explorations at Thebes* (1912), p. 60-1

References in the text: p. 90, 134; p. 34 n. 226; p.

132 n. 940

Reference number: rT08CarCa

Name: Tetiky

Title(s): "king's son" s3 nswt; "mayor of Thebes"

Provenance: el-Birabi

Tomb type/number: tomb of Tetiky (TT 15)

Date of discovery: 1907

Excavation: Earl of Carnarvon and Howard Carter

Material: coffin painted in the scenes in the southern

wall of Tetiky chapel

Type: F

Date: early 18th dynasty, reign of Ahmose

Bibliography: Earl of CARNARVON, H. CARTER, *Five Years' Explorations at Thebes* (1912), pls. VII.1, VIII.2; N. de Garis DAVIES, *The tomb of Tetaky* (1925), pl. 5C; BARBOTIN, *Ahmosis* (2008),

colour pl. 4

References in the text: p. 83, 125-6, 145, 146; p.

31 n. 208; p. 57 n. 390

Fig. 129

Reference number: rT09carca

Name: Title(s): -

Provenance: el-Birabi

Tomb type/number: 62/62.P1

[complex C62, tomb no. 62, pit-tomb no. 1]

Date of discovery: 1911-1914

Excavation: Earl of Carnarvon and Howard Carter

Material: wood

Type: - Date: -

Bibliography: -

References in the text: p. 92

rT10carca / rT11carca / rT12carca

Reference number: rT10carca	Type: - Date: -	
Name: - Title(s): -	Bibliography: -	
Provenance: el-Birabi Tomb type/number: 62/62.P3 [complex C 62, tomb no. 62, pit-tomb no. 3] Date of discovery: 1911-1914 Excavation: Earl of Carnarvon and Howard Carter	References in the text: p. 92	
Material: wood		
Reference number: rT11carca	Type: - Date: -	
Name: - Title(s): -	Bibliography: -	
Provenance: el-Birabi Tomb type/number: 62/45.6 [complex C 62, tomb no. 45, coffin no. 6] Date of discovery: 1911-1914 Excavation: Earl of Carnarvon and Howard Carter Material: wood	References in the text: p. 93	
Reference number: rT12carca	Type: -	
Name: -	Date: -	
Title(s): -	Bibliography: -	
Provenance: el-Birabi Tomb type/number: 62/46.2 [complex C 62, tomb no. 46, coffin no. 2] Date of discovery: 1911-1914 Excavation: Earl of Carnarvon and Howard Carter	References in the text: p. 93 Fig. 88	

rT13carca / rT14carca / rT15carca

Reference number: rT13carca	Type: - Date: -
Name: - Title(s): -	Bibliography: -
Provenance: el-Birabi Tomb type/number: 62/47.10 [complex C 62, tomb no. 47, coffin no. 10] Date of discovery: 1911-1914 Excavation: Earl of Carnarvon and Howard Carter	References in the text: p. 94
Material: wood	
Reference number: rT14carca	Type: - Date: -
Name: - Title(s): -	Bibliography: -
Provenance: el-Birabi Tomb type/number: 62/47.16 [complex C 62, tomb no. 47, coffin no. 16] Date of discovery: 1911-1914 Excavation: Earl of Carnarvon and Howard Carter	References in the text: p. 94
Material: wood	
Reference number: rT15carca	Type: - Date: -
Name: - Title(s): -	Bibliography: -
Provenance: el-Birabi Tomb type/number: 62/47.22 [complex C 62, tomb no. 47, coffin no. 22] Date of discovery: 1911-1914 Excavation: Earl of Carnarvon and Howard Carter	References in the text: p. 94

rT16carca / rT17carca / rT18carca

Reference number: rT16carca	Type: - Date: -
Name: - Title(s): -	Bibliography: -
Provenance: el-Birabi Tomb type/number: 62/47.25 [complex C 62, tomb no. 47, coffin no. 25] Date of discovery: 1911-1914 Excavation: Earl of Carnarvon and Howard Carter	References in the text: p. 94
Material: wood	
D. 6	T
Reference number: rT17carca	Type: - Date: -
Name: - Title(s): -	Bibliography: -
Provenance: el-Birabi Tomb type/number: 62/47.29 [complex C 62, tomb no. 47, coffin no. 29] Date of discovery: 1911-1914 Excavation: Earl of Carnarvon and Howard Carter	References in the text: p. 94
Material: wood	
Reference number: rT18carca	Type: - Date: -
Name: - Title(s): -	Bibliography: -
Provenance: el-Birabi Tomb type/number: 62/47.30 [complex C 62, tomb no. 47, coffin no. 30] Date of discovery: 1911-1914 Excavation: Earl of Carnarvon and Howard Carter	References in the text: p. 94

rT19carca / rT20carca / rT21carca

Reference number: rT19carca	Type: - Date: -
Name: - Title(s): -	Bibliography: -
Provenance: el-Birabi Tomb type/number: 62/47.33 [complex C 62, tomb no. 47, coffin no. 33] Date of discovery: 1911-1914 Excavation: Earl of Carnarvon and Howard Carter	References in the text: p. 94
Material: wood	
Reference number: rT20carca	Type: - Date: -
Name: - Title(s): -	Bibliography: -
Provenance: el-Birabi Tomb type/number: 62/63 [complex C 62, tomb no. 63, male coffin] Date of discovery: 1911-1914 Excavation: Earl of Carnarvon and Howard Carter	References in the text: p. 96
Material: wood	
Reference number: rT21carca	Type: - Date: -
Name: - Title(s): -	Bibliography: -
Provenance: el-Birabi Tomb type/number: 62/63 [complex C 62, tomb no. 63, female coffin] Date of discovery: 1911-1914 Excavation: Earl of Carnarvon and Howard Carter	References in the text : p. 96; p. 30 n. 201; p. 48 n. 325

rT22carca / rT23carca / rT24carca

Reference number: rT22carca	Type: - Date: -	
Name: - Title(s): -	Bibliography: -	
Provenance: el-Birabi Tomb type/number: 62/64.7 [complex C 62, tomb no. 64, coffin no. 7] Date of discovery: 1911-1914 Excavation: Earl of Carnarvon and Howard Carter	References in the text: p. 96	
Material: wood		
Reference number: rT23carca	Type: - Date: -	
Name: - Title(s): -	Bibliography: -	
Provenance: el-Birabi Tomb type/number: 62/64.8 [complex C 62, tomb no. 64, coffin no. 8] Date of discovery: 1911-1914 Excavation: Earl of Carnarvon and Howard Carter	References in the text: p. 96	
Material: wood		
Reference number: rT24carca	Type: - Date: -	
Name: - Title(s): -	Bibliography: -	
Provenance: el-Birabi Tomb type/number: 62/64.12 [complex C 62, tomb no. 64, coffin no. 12] Date of discovery: 1911-1914 Excavation: Earl of Carnarvon and Howard Carter	References in the text: p. 96	

rT25carca / rT26carca / rT27carca

Reference number: rT25carca Type: F Date: early 18th dynasty (?), perhaps reign of Amenhotep I/Tuthmosis I Name: -Title(s): -Bibliography: -Provenance: el-Birabi Tomb type/number: 62/43.17 [complex C 62, pit-tomb no. 43, coffin no. 17] References in the text: p. 100, 127 Date of discovery: 1911-1914 **Excavation**: Earl of Carnarvon and Howard Carter Material: wood Reference number: rT26carca Type: -Date: -Name: -Title(s): -Bibliography: -Provenance: el-Birabi References in the text: p. 100 Tomb type/number: 62/43.16 [complex C 62, pit-tomb no. 43, coffin no. 16] Date of discovery: 1911-1914 **Excavation**: Earl of Carnarvon and Howard Carter Material: wood Reference number: rT27carca Type: -Date: -Name: -Title(s): -Bibliography: -Provenance: el-Birabi Tomb type/number: 62/49 References in the text: p. 100

Excavation: Earl of Carnarvon and Howard Carter

Material: wood

[complex C 62, pit-tomb no. 49] **Date of discovery**: 1911-1914

rT28carca / rT29carca

Reference number: rT28carca

Name: Title(s): -

Provenance: el-Mandara (Dra Abu el-Naga south) **Tomb type/number**: tomb no. 74 (Carter's numbering

system)

Date of discovery: 1913-1914

Excavation: Earl of Carnarvon and Howard Carter

Museum: [archive] Griffith Institute, Oxford

Museum accession number: [archive] Carter Mss. i.J.300.1

Type: F (?)

Date: early 18th dynasty (?)

Bibliography: -

References in the text: p. 79

Pl. 4.d

Reference number: rT29carca

Name: -Title(s): -

Provenance: el-Mandara (Dra Abu el-Naga south) **Tomb type/number**: tomb no. 74 (Carter's numbering

system)

Date of discovery: 1913-1914

Excavation: Earl of Carnarvon and Howard Carter

Museum: [archive] Griffith Institute - Oxford

Museum accession number: [archive] Carter Mss. i.J.300.1

Type: F (?)

Date: early 18th dynasty (?)

Bibliography: -

References in the text: p. 79

Pl. 4.d

rT01Gr / rT02Gr / rT01ma

Reference number: rT01Gr

Name: Rediamun (?)

Title(s): "royal sealer" *htmty bity*; "overseer of fields"

imy-r 3*hwt* (?)

Provenance: el-Asasif

Tomb type/number: in the pit-tomb of the second

court of TT 196

Date of discovery: published in 2003

Excavation: Erhart Graefe

Material: gold foil Condition: fragments

Type: -Date: -

Bibliography: E. GRAEFE, *Das Grab des Padihorresnet* (2003), vol. I, p. 209, pl. 118, Kat.

540

References in the text: p. 108; p. 130 n. 922

Fig. 109

Reference number: rT02Gr

Name: -Title(s): -

Provenance: el-Asasif

Tomb type/number: tomb "M" in the third court of

TT 196

Date of discovery: published in 2007

Excavation: Erhart Graefe

Material: wood, stucco, paint

Condition: fragments (belonging to different

coffins?)

Type: - Date: -

Bibliography: E. Graefe, Die Doppelgrabanlage

"M" (2007), pls. 3-7

References in the text: p. 108-9

Reference number: rT01ma

Name: Neferhotep

Title(s): "accountant of the main enclosure", sš n hnrt

wr

Provenance: Dra Abu el-Naga north, main hill (?)

Tomb type/number: Date of discovery: 1860
Excavation: Auguste Mariette

Type: -

Date: late 13th dynasty (?)

Bibliography: A. Mariette, *Les papyrus égyptiens* (1872), vol. II, p. 6; G. Miniaci, S. Quirke, *Mariette at Dra Abu el-Naga and the tomb of Neferhotep* (2008), p. 5-25; G. Miniaci, S. Quirke, *Reconceiving the tomb in the late Middle Kingdom* (2009), p. 339-83

References in the text: p. 15-6, 74, 116-7, 140

Fig. 14

rT01MMA

Reference number: rT01MMA

Name: -Title(s): -

Provenance: el-Birabi

Tomb type/number: 62/R2.C.1

[complex C 62, tomb no. R 2, room C, coffin no. 1]

Date of discovery: 1915-1916

Excavation: Ambrose Lansing, MMA Egyptian

Expedition

Museum: [archive] Metropolitan Museum of Art -

New York

Museum accession number: [archive] MMA photo 5A, 581

Material: wood **Condition**: -

Height: -Width: -Depth: -

Type: E

Date: early 18th dynasty

Bibliography: -

Credits: Photo © courtesy of Metropolitan Museum

of Art, New York



References in the text: p. 97; p. 35 n. 231

Reference number: rT02MMA

Name: -Title(s): -

Provenance: el-Birabi

Tomb type/number: 62/R2.C.2 [complex C 62, tomb no. R 2, room C, coffin no. 2]

Date of discovery: 1915-1916

Excavation: Ambrose Lansing, MMA Egyptian Expedition

Museum: [archive] Metropolitan Museum of Art - New York **Museum accession number**: [archive] MMA photo 5A, 205

Material: wood Condition: -

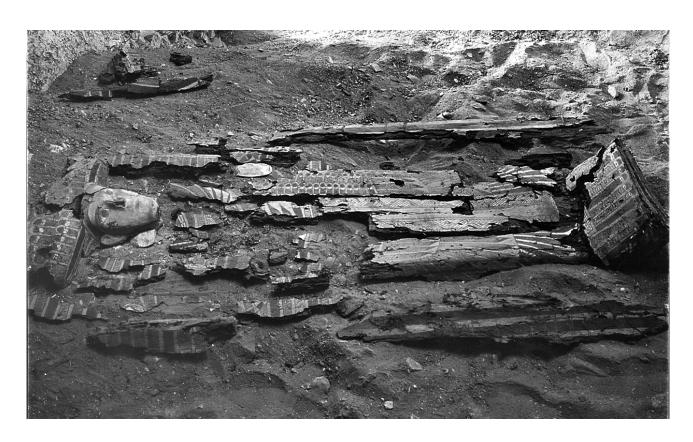
Height: - Width: - Depth: -

Type: E (?)

Date: early 18th dynasty

Bibliography: -

Credits: Photo © courtesy of Metropolitan Museum of Art, New York



References in the text: p. 97; p. 35 n. 231; p. 74 n. 505

rT03MMA

Reference number: rT03MMA

Name: -Title(s): -

Provenance: el-Birabi

Tomb type/number: 62/R2.C.3

[complex C 62, tomb no. R 2, room C, coffin no. 3]

Date of discovery: 1915-1916

Excavation: Ambrose Lansing, MMA Egyptian

Expedition

Museum: [archive] Metropolitan Museum of Art -

New York

Museum accession number: [archive] MMA photo 5A, 671

Material: wood Condition: -

Height: -Width: -Depth: -

Type: E

Date: early 18th dynasty

Bibliography: -

Credits: Photo © courtesy of Metropolitan Museum

of Art, New York



References in the text: p. 97; p. 30 n. 197; p. 32 n. 211; p. 35 n. 231

Reference number: rT04MMA

Name: -Title(s): -

Provenance: el-Birabi

Tomb type/number: 62/R2.E.3

[complex C 62, tomb no. R 2, room E, coffin no. 3]

Date of discovery: 1915-1916

Excavation: Ambrose Lansing, MMA Egyptian

Expedition

Museum: [archive] Metropolitan Museum of Art -

New York

Museum accession number: [archive] MMA photo 5A, 454

Material: wood Condition: -

Height: -Width: -Depth: -

Type: E (?)

Date: early 18th dynasty (?)

Bibliography: A.M. LYTHGOE, A. LANSING, N. de Garis DAVIES, *The Egyptian Expedition 1915-16*

(1917), p. 20 (only text)

Credits: Photo © courtesy of Metropolitan Museum

of Art, New York



References in the text: p. 97

rT05MMA

Reference number: rT05MMA

Name: -Title(s): -

Provenance: el-Birabi

Tomb type/number: 62/R2.G.3/4

[complex C 62, tomb no. R 2, room G, coffin no. 3 or 4]

Date of discovery: 1915-1916

Excavation: Ambrose Lansing, MMA Egyptian Expedition

Museum: [archive] Metropolitan Museum of Art - New York **Museum accession number**: [archive] MMA photo 5A, 222

Material: wood Condition: -

Height: -Width: -Depth: -

Type: D

Date: late 17th/early 18th dynasty

Bibliography: -

Credits: Photo © courtesy of Metropolitan

Museum of Art, New York



References in the text: p. 97

Reference number: rT06MMA

Name: -Title(s): -

Provenance: el-Birabi Tomb type/number: 62/R2 [complex C 62, tomb no. R 2] Date of discovery: 1915-1916

Excavation: Ambrose Lansing, MMA Egyptian

Expedition

Museum: [archive] Metropolitan Museum of Art -

New York

Museum accession number: [archive] MMA photo 5A, 232

Material: wood Condition: -

Height: -Width: -Depth: -

Type: E

Date: early 18th dynasty

Bibliography: -

Credits: Photo © courtesy of Metropolitan Museum

of Art, New York



References in the text: p. 97; p. 35 n. 231

rT07MMA

Reference number: rT07MMA

Name: -Title(s): -

Provenance: el-Birabi **Tomb type/number**: 62/**R2** [complex C 62, tomb no. R 2] **Date of discovery**: 1915-1916

Excavation: Ambrose Lansing, MMA Egyptian

Expedition

Museum: [archive] Metropolitan Museum of Art -

New York

Museum accession number: [archive] MMA photo

5A, 332

Material: wood Condition: -

Height: -Width: -Depth: -

Type: E (?)

Date: early 18th dynasty (?)

Bibliography: -

Credits: Photo © courtesy of Metropolitan Museum

of Art, New York



References in the text: p. 97; p. 35 n. 231

Reference number: rT08MMA

Name: -Title(s): -

Provenance: el-Birabi

Tomb type/number: 62/R3.B.1

[complex C 62, tomb no. R 3, room B, coffin no. 1]

Date of discovery: 1915-1916

Excavation: Ambrose Lansing, MMA Egyptian

Expedition

Museum: [archive] Metropolitan Museum of Art -

New York

Museum accession number:

[archive] MMA photo 5A, 245-246

Material: wood Condition: -

Height: -Width: -Depth: -

Type: C/D (?)

Date: late 17th dynasty (?)

Bibliography: -

Credits: Photos © courtesy of Metropolitan

Museum of Art, New York





References in the text: p. 97; p. 38 n. 243; p. 39 n. 261

rT09MMA

Reference number: rT09MMA

Name: -Title(s): -

Provenance: el-Birabi

Tomb type/number: 62/R3.B.2

[complex C 62, tomb no. R 3, room B, coffin no. 2]

Date of discovery: 1915-1916

Excavation: Ambrose Lansing, MMA Egyptian

Expedition

Museum: [archive] Metropolitan Museum of Art -

New York

Museum accession number:

[archive] MMA photo 5A, 246 (left), 5A, 247 (right)

Material: wood Condition: -

Height: -Width: -Depth: -

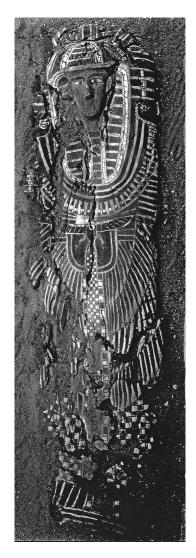
Type: B

Date: late 17th dynasty

Bibliography: -

Credits: Photos © courtesy of Metropolitan

Museum of Art, New York





References in the text: p. 97, 140; p. 32 n. 211; p. 36 n. 241; p. 38 n. 243; p. 39 n. 261

Reference number: rT10MMA

Name: -Title(s): -

Provenance: el-Birabi

Tomb type/number: 62/R4.C.1

[complex C 62, tomb no. R 4, room C, coffin no. 1]

Date of discovery: 1915-1916

Excavation: Ambrose Lansing, MMA Egyptian

Expedition

Museum: [archive] Metropolitan Museum of Art -

New York

Museum accession number: [archive] MMA photo 5A, 286

Material: wood **Condition**: -

Height: -Width: -Depth: -

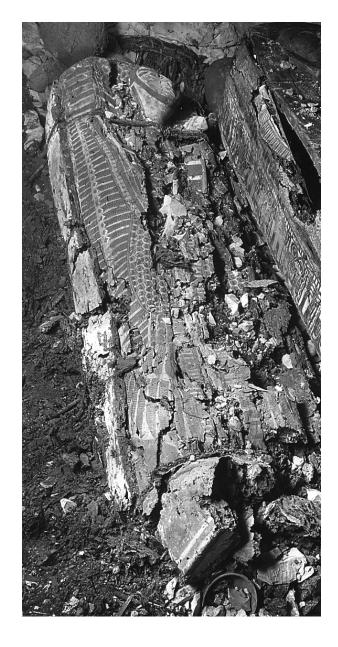
Type: D

Date: late 17th/early 18th dynasty

Bibliography: -

Credits: Photo © courtesy of Metropolitan Museum

of Art, New York



References in the text: p. 97, 131; p. 30 n. 197

rT11MMA



Reference number: rT11MMA

Name: -Title(s): -

Provenance: el-Birabi

Tomb type/number: 62/R4.C.2

[complex C 62, tomb no. R 4, room C, coffin no. 2]

Date of discovery: 1915-1916

Excavation: Ambrose Lansing, MMA Egyptian

Expedition

Museum: [archive] Metropolitan Museum

of Art - New York

Museum accession number: [archive] MMA photo 5A, 555 (right), 277 (left)

Material: wood Condition: -

Height: -Width: -Depth: -

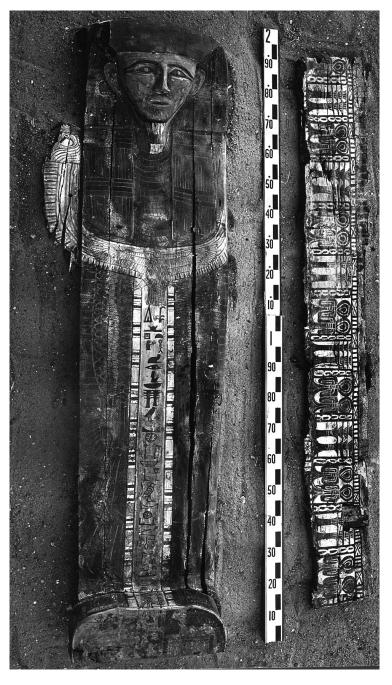
Type: D

Date: late 17th/early 18th dynasty

Bibliography: -

Credits: Photo © courtesy of Metropolitan

Museum of Art, New York



References in the text: p. 97, 130, 143; p. 31 n. 208; p. 32 n. 211; p. 38 n. 246; p. 40 n. 281; **Figs**. 39, 137, 151

rT12MMA

Reference number: rT12MMA

Name: -Title(s): -

Provenance: el-Birabi

Tomb type/number: 62/R8.B.6 [complex C 62, tomb no. R 8, room B, coffin no. 6]

Date of discovery: 1915-1916

Excavation: Ambrose Lansing, MMA Egyptian Expedition

Museum: [archive] Metropolitan Museum of Art - New York **Museum accession number**: [archive] MMA photo 5A, 318

Material: wood Condition: -

Height: -Width: -Depth: -

Type: D

Date: late 17th/early 18th dynasty

Bibliography: -

Credits: Photo © courtesy of Metropolitan Museum of Art, New York



References in the text: p. 32 n. 211

Reference number: rT13MMA

Name: -Title(s): -

Provenance: el-Birabi

Tomb type/number: 62/R11.A.2

[complex C 62, tomb no. R 11, room A, coffin no. 2]

Date of discovery: 1915-1916

Excavation: Ambrose Lansing, MMA Egyptian

Expedition

Museum: [archive] Metropolitan Museum of Art -

New York

Museum accession number: [archive] MMA photo

5A, 481

Material: wood Condition: -

Height: -Width: -Depth: -

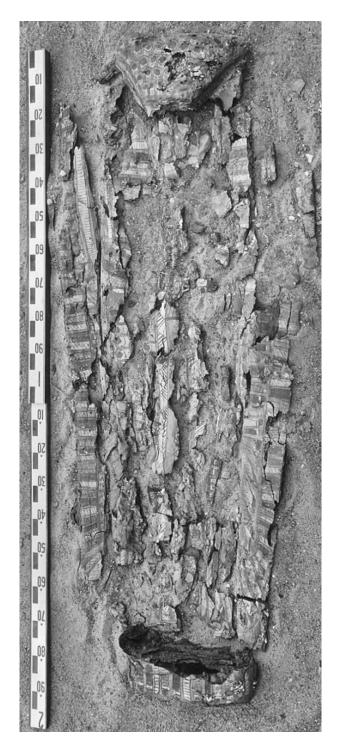
Type: E (?)

Date: early 18th dynasty

Bibliography: -

Credits: Photo © courtesy of Metropolitan Museum

of Art, New York



References in the text: p. 35 n. 231; p. 48 n. 326

rT14MMA

Reference number: rT14MMA

Name: -Title(s): -

Provenance: el-Birabi

Tomb type/number: 62/P1.A.3

[complex C 62, tomb no. P 1, room A, coffin no. 3]

Date of discovery: 1915-1916

Excavation: Ambrose Lansing, MMA Egyptian

Expedition

Museum: [archive] Metropolitan Museum of Art -

New York

Museum accession number:

[archive] MMA photos 5A, 345, 355

Material: wood Condition: -

Height: -Width: -Depth: -

Type: D (?)

Date: late 17th/early 18th dynasty

Bibliography: -

Credits: Photos © courtesy of Metropolitan

Museum of Art, New York



References in the text: p. 98, 131; p. 31 n. 208; p. 40 n. 281

Reference number: rT15MMA

Name: -Title(s): -

Provenance: el-Birabi

Tomb type/number: 62/P2.D.1

[complex C 62, tomb no. P 2, room D, coffin no. 1]

Date of discovery: 1915-1916

Excavation: Ambrose Lansing, MMA Egyptian

Expedition

Museum: [archive] Metropolitan Museum of Art -

New York

Museum accession number: [archive] MMA photo 5A, 369

Material: wood Condition: -

Height: -Width: -Depth: -

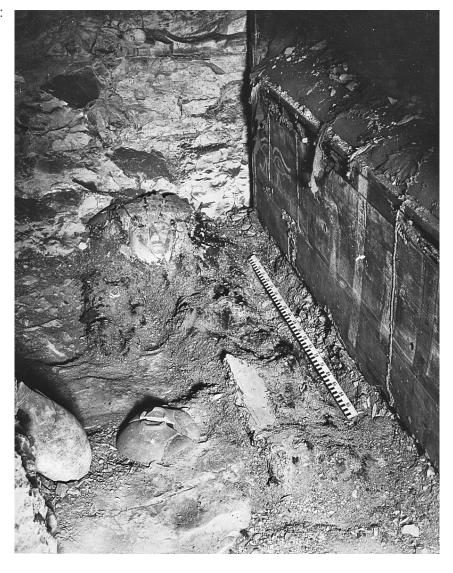
Type: E

Date: early 18th dynasty

Bibliography: -

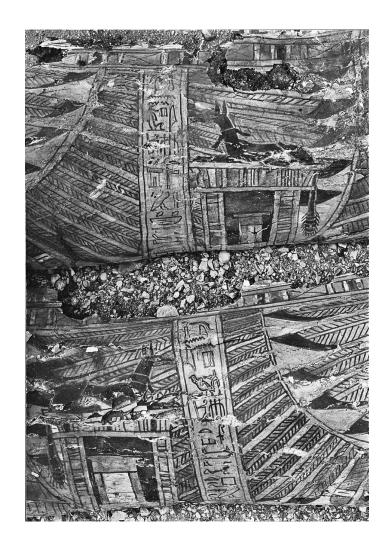
Credits: Photo © courtesy of Metropolitan Museum

of Art, New York



References in the text: p. 98; p. 35 n. 231

rT16MMA





Reference number: rT16MMA

Name: Khay

Title(s): "overseer", *imy-r* (title incomplete)

Provenance: el-Birabi

Tomb type/number: 62/P2.D.3

[complex C 62, tomb no. P 2, room D, coffin no. 3]

Date of discovery: 1915-1916

Excavation: Ambrose Lansing, MMA Egyptian

Expedition

Museum: [archive] Metropolitan Museum of Art -

New York

Museum accession number: [archive] MMA photo 5A, 373 (details: photos 5A, 376, 568). See also

photos 5A, 377, 577, 579

Material: wood Condition: -

Height: - Width: - Depth: -

Type: F

Date: early 18th dynasty

Bibliography: The foot end of the coffin has been published in C. LILYQUIST, A Foreign V ase

Representation (1997), p. 340, fig. a

Credits: Photos © courtesy of Metropolitan

Museum of Art, New York



References in the text: p. 98, 128, 145; p. 36 n. 238, n. 240; p. 38 n. 250 **Fig.** 33.c

rT17MMA

Reference number: rT17MMA

Name: -Title(s): -

Provenance: el-Birabi

Tomb type/number: 62/P2.D.4 [complex C 62, tomb no. P 2, room D, coffin no. 4]

Date of discovery: 1915-1916

Excavation: Ambrose Lansing, MMA Egyptian Expedition

Museum: [archive] Metropolitan Museum of Art - New York

Museum accession number: [archive] MMA photo 5A, 380 (see also photos 5A, 373, 375)

Material: wood Condition: -

Height: -Width: -Depth: -

Type: D (?)

Date: late 17th/early 18th dynasty (?)

Bibliography: -

Credits: Photo © courtesy of Metropolitan Museum of Art, New York



References in the text: p. 98

Reference number: rT18MMA

Name: -Title(s): -

Provenance: el-Birabi

Tomb type/number: 62/P2.C.6 [complex C 62, tomb no. P 2, room C, coffin no. 6]

Date of discovery: 1915-1916

Excavation: Ambrose Lansing, MMA Egyptian Expedition

Museum: [archive] Metropolitan Museum of Art - New York **Museum accession number**: [archive] MMA photo 5A, 366

Material: wood Condition: -

Height: -Width: -Depth: -

Type: F

Date: early 18th dynasty

Bibliography: -

Credits: Photo © courtesy of Metropolitan Museum of Art, New York



References in the text: p. 98-9, 145; p. 36 n. 238

rT19MMA

Reference number: rT19MMA

Name: Nakht Title(s): -

Provenance: el-Birabi

Tomb type/number: 62/P3.D.1

[complex C 62, tomb no. P 3, room D, coffin no. 1]

Date of discovery: 1915-1916

Excavation: Ambrose Lansing, MMA Egyptian

Expedition

Museum: [archive] Metropolitan Museum of Art -

New York

Museum accession number: [archive] MMA photo

5A, 395 (see also photos 5A, 394, 396, 397)

Material: wood Condition: -

Height: -Width: -Depth: -

Type: G

Date: early 18th dynasty

Bibliography: -

Credits: Photo © courtesy of Metropolitan Museum

of Art, New York



References in the text: p. 99, 136, 145-7; p. 25 n. 158; p. 31 n. 208; p. 36 n. 238; p. 57 n. 390; p. 136 n. 953; p. 137 n. 968

Fig. 155

Reference number: rT20MMA

Name: Rennofer

Title(s): "lady of the house", *nbt pr*

Provenance: el-Birabi, at the end of the avenue of

Tuthmosis III

Tomb type/number: tomb no. 279 **Date of discovery**: 1935-1936

Excavation: William C. Hayes, MMA Egyptian

Expedition

Material: wood

Type: F

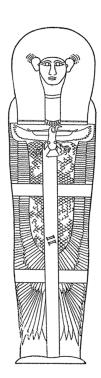
Date: early 18th dynasty, reign of Tuthmosis I

Bibliography: W.C. HAYES, The tomb of Nefer-

Khewet (1935), p. 17-36

Credits: from W.C. HAYES, The tomb of Nefer-

Khewet (1935), p. 22, fig. 1



References in the text: p.~103-5,~127,~145; p.~26~n.~170; p.~30~n.~201; p.~32~n.~211; p.~36~n.~238

Figs. 103, 131

Reference number: rT21mma

Name: -Title(s): -

Provenance: Deir el-Bahri **Tomb type/number**: -**Date of discovery**: 1916-17

Excavation: Ambrose Lansing, MMA Egyptian

Expedition

Type: -

Date: 14th-15th dynasty (?)

Bibliography: H.E. WINLOCK, *The tombs of the kings of the seventeenth dynasty* (1924), p. 218, n. 7; W.C. HAYES, *the Scepter of Egypt* (1959), vol.

II, p. 5

References in the text: p. 118

rT22mma / rT23mma / rT01ndg

Reference number: rT22mma Type: -

Name: Ahmes
Title(s): "priest", wb

Title(s): "Bibliography: PM I², 2, p. 654

Provenance: Deir el-Bahri

Tomb type/number: from the debris of

tomb no. 211

Date of discovery: 1921-1922

Excavation: Herbert Winlock, MMA Egyptian

Expedition

Type: A (?)

Date: mid-late 13th dynasty (?)

References in the text: p. 107

Name: Iuv

Title(s): "overseer of the city", *imy-r nwt* **Bibliography**: PM I², 2, p. 626; H.E. WINLOCK, *The Egyptian Expedition 1922-23* (1923), p. 31

Provenance: Deir el-Bahri

Reference number: rT23mma

Tomb type/number: from the debris of Tuthmosis

III's causeway

Date of discovery: 1922-1923

Excavation: Herbert Winlock, MMA Egyptian

Expedition

References in the text: p. 107-8, 117, 140

Figs. 119, 120

Type: - Date: -

Reference number: rT01ndg

Name: Senebmiu

Title(s): "wab-priest of Amon and of king

Mentuhotep II", w b n Imn n Nbp-hpt-r

Provenance: near TT 15

Tomb type/number: in a pit to the east of painted

chamber (TT 15)

Date of discovery: 1924

Excavation: Oscar Durham on behalf of Norman de

Garis Davies

 $\textbf{Bibliography}: PM\ I^2, 2, p.\ 611; N.\ de\ Garis\ DAVIES,$

The Tomb of Tetaky (1925), p. 12.

References in the text: p. 83; p. 79 n. 548

Reference number: rT01Pi

Name: -Title(s): -

Provenance: Dra Abu el-Naga, main hill **Tomb type/number**: MIDAN.05 (shaft *f*, room *j*)

Date of discovery: 2007

Excavation: Marilina Betrò, University of Pisa

Material: painted plaster on wood

Condition: fragments

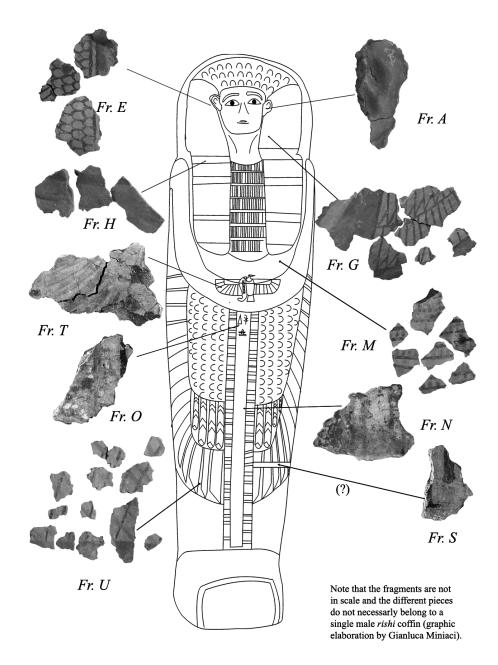
Height: -Width: -Depth: - Type: -

Date: early 18th dynasty (?)

Bibliography: G. MINIACI, M. BETRÒ, *The fragments of rishi coffins from the tomb MIDAN.05* (2009), p. 9-20, pls. 1-3

Credits: Photos by G. Miniaci © courtesy of

Università di Pisa



References in the text: p. 75-6 **Fig**. 69

rT02Pi / rT01Ry

Reference number: rT02Pi

Name: -Title(s): -

Provenance: Dra Abu el-Naga, main hill

Tomb type/number: MIDAN.05 (rubbish in the

courtyard)

Date of discovery: 2010

Excavation: Marilina Betrò, University of Pisa

Museum: -

Museum accession number: [excavation] EXT 3308

Material: painted plaster on wood

Condition: fragments

Height: -Width: -Depth: -

Type: - Date: -

Bibliography: -



Credits: Photo by G. Miniaci © courtesy of

References in the text: archaeological context

Università di Pisa

p. 75

Reference number: rT01Ry

Name: Title(s): -

Provenance: Valley of the Kings **Tomb type/number**: KV 60 **Date of discovery**: 2009

Excavation: Donald Ryan, Pacific Lutheran University

Valley of the Kings Expedition

Material: wood, stucco, paint

Condition: fragments

Type: -

Date: early 18th dynasty

Bibliography: -

References in the text: p. 111-2, 129

Fig. 116

Reference number: rT01VA

Name: Hornakht

Title(s): "royal acquaintance with (right) of access",

rh nswt ^cķ

Provenance: Dra Abu el-Naga north **Tomb type/number**: coffin no. 67 (Vassalli's numbering system)

Date of discovery: 21st December 1862

Excavation: Luigi Vassalli

Museum: [archive] Civica Biblioteca d'Arte -

Milano

Museum accession number: [archive] f. 36r, Fondo

Luigi Vassalli, Album H2 - Luigi Vassalli

Material: painted and gilded wood

Condition: -

Height: -Width: -Depth: -

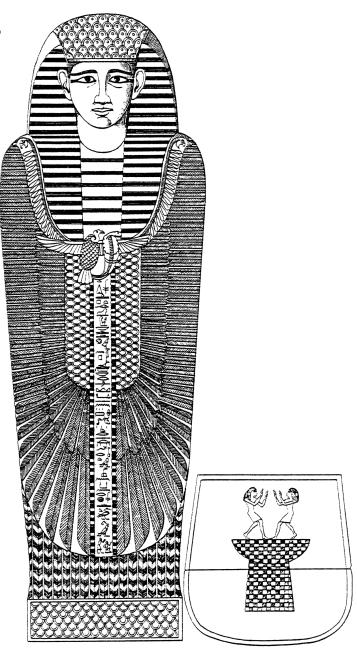
Type: D

Date: late 17th dynasty,

reign of Seqenenre Djehuty-aa

Bibliography: L. VASSALLI, I monumenti istorici egizi (1867), p. 131; A. MARIETTE, Monuments divers (1892), p. 16-7, pl. 51; V. SCHMIDT, Sarkofager (1919), p. 70, fig. 368; F. TIRADRITTI, L'album di disegni di Luigi Vassalli (1994), p. 69-70, 116, fig. 14; F. TIRADRITTI, Luigi Vassalli and the archaeological season at western Thebes (2010), p. 336-40, pl. 117

Credits: from A. MARIETTE, *Monuments divers* (1892), pl. 51



References in the text: p. 26, 58-9, 121-2; p. 38 n. 245; p. 130 n. 921; p. 132 n. 938 **Figs**. 54, 125

rT02VA

Reference number: rT02VA

Name: -Title(s): -

Provenance: Dra Abu el-Naga north **Tomb type/number**: coffin no. 71 (Vassalli's numbering system)

Date of discovery: 23rd December 1862

Excavation: Luigi Vassalli

Museum: [archive] Civica Biblioteca d'Arte -

Milano

Museum accession number: [archive] f. 37r, Fondo

Luigi Vassalli, Album H2 - Luigi Vassalli

Material: - Condition: -

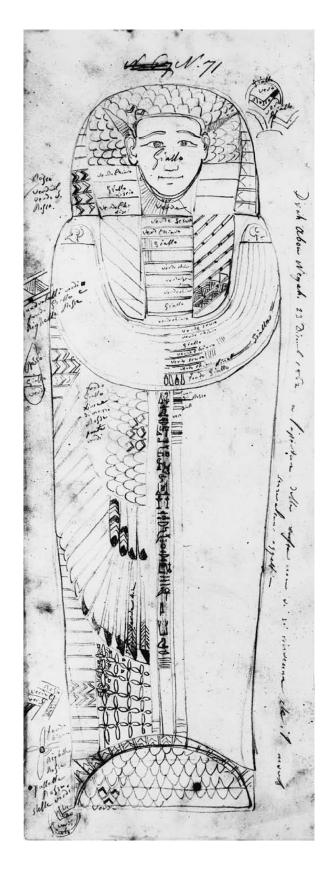
Height: -Width: -Depth: -

Type: C

Date: late 17th dynasty

Bibliography: F. TIRADRITTI, *L'album di disegni di Luigi Vassalli* (1994), p. 70 (only text); F. TIRADRITTI, *Luigi Vassalli and the archaeological season at western Thebes* (2010), p. 336, pl. 115

Credits: Photo © courtesy of Civica Biblioteca d'Arte - Fondo Luigi Vassalli, Album H 2, Milano



References in the text: p. 60, 142-3; p. 32 n. 211; p. 34 n. 226; p. 36 n. 239; p. 38 n. 245; p. 132 n. 941 **Fig**. 33.a

Reference number: rT03VA

Name: Rensesenebu (or Renefsenebu?)

Title(s): -

Provenance: Dra Abu el-Naga north

Tomb type/number: -

Date of discovery: 27th December 1862

Excavation: Luigi Vassalli

Museum: [archive] Civica Biblioteca d'Arte -

Milano

Museum accession number: [archive] f. 39r, Fondo Luigi Vassalli, Album H2 - Luigi Vassalli

Material: - Condition: -

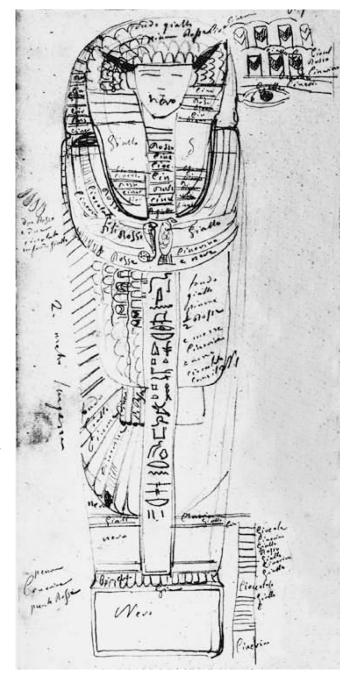
Height: -Width: -Depth: -

Type: D

Date: late 17th dynasty

Bibliography: F. TIRADRITTI, *L'album di disegni di Luigi Vassalli* (1994), p. 70-1 (only text); F. TIRADRITTI, *Luigi Vassalli and the archaeological season at western Thebes* (2010), p. 336, pl. 116

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References in the text: p. 60; p. 74 n. 505

rT04va / rT05va / rT06va

Excavation: Luigi Vassalli/Auguste Mariette

Museum accession number: [archive] recorded in

Museum: -

a note appended to JE 21385

Reference number: rT04va Type: -Date: -Name: -Bibliography: -Title(s): -Provenance: Dra Abu el-Naga north Tomb type/number: same tomb of Hornakht (see References in the text: p. 59 Cat. *r***T01VA**) Date of discovery: 1863 Excavation: Luigi Vassalli/Auguste Mariette Museum: -Museum accession number: [archive] recorded in a note appended to JE 21478 Reference number: rT05va Type: -Date: -Name: -Title(s): -Bibliography: -Provenance: Dra Abu el-Naga north Tomb type/number: -References in the text: p. 61 Date of discovery: 1863 Excavation: Luigi Vassalli/Auguste Mariette Museum: -Museum accession number: [archive] recorded in a note appended to JE 21378 Reference number: rT06va Type: -**Date**: Hyksos period (?) Name: -Title(s): -Bibliography: -Provenance: Dra Abu el-Naga north References in the text: p. 61, 117-8 Tomb type/number: -Date of discovery: 1863

rT07va / rT08va / rT09va

Reference number: rT07va	Type: - Date: -
Name: - Title(s): -	Bibliography: -
Provenance: Dra Abu el-Naga north Tomb type/number: - Date of discovery: 1863 Excavation: Luigi Vassalli/Auguste Mariette	References in the text: p. 61-2
Museum: - Museum accession number: [archive] recorded in a note appended to JE 21388	
Reference number: rT08va	Type: - Date: -
Name: - Title(s): -	Bibliography: -
Provenance: Dra Abu el-Naga north Tomb type/number: - Date of discovery: 1863 Excavation: Luigi Vassalli/Auguste Mariette	References in the text: p. 62
Museum: - Museum accession number: [archive] recorded in a note appended to JE 21417	
Reference number: rT09va	Type: - Date: -
Name: - Title(s): -	Bibliography: -
Provenance: Dra Abu el-Naga north Tomb type/number: - Date of discovery: 1863 Excavation: Luigi Vassalli/Auguste Mariette	References in the text: p. 62
Museum: - Museum accession number: [archive] recorded in a note appended to JE 21420	

rT10va / rT11va / rT12va

Reference number: rT10va Type: -Date: -Name: -Bibliography: -Title(s): -Provenance: Dra Abu el-Naga north Tomb type/number: -References in the text: p. 62 Date of discovery: 1863 Excavation: Luigi Vassalli/Auguste Mariette Museum: -Museum accession number: [archive] recorded in a note appended to JE 21426 Reference number: rT11va Type: -Date: -Name: -Title(s): -Bibliography: -Provenance: Dra Abu el-Naga north Tomb type/number: -References in the text: p. 63 Date of discovery: 1863 Excavation: Luigi Vassalli/Auguste Mariette Museum: -Museum accession number: [archive] recorded in a note appended to JE 21441 Reference number: rT12va Type: -Date: -Name: -Title(s): -Bibliography: -Provenance: Dra Abu el-Naga north Tomb type/number: -References in the text: p. 63 Date of discovery: 1863 Excavation: Luigi Vassalli/Auguste Mariette Museum: -Museum accession number: [archive] recorded in a note appended to JE 21443



Pl. 1.a - Coffin of queen Ahhotep, Cat. rT02C



Pl. 1.b - Anonymous coffin Cat. rT14C



Pl. 1.c - Foot-end of the coffin of king Kamose, Cat. rT03C



Pl. 2.a - Coffin of the "commander of the ruler's crew" Teti, Cat. rT05C



Pl. 2.b - Anonymous coffin Cat. rT08C



Pl. 3.a - Detail of the coffin of Teti, Cat. rT05C



Pl. 3.b - Detail of the coffin of the "accountant of the treasurer" Amenhotep, Cat. rT06C



Pl. 3.c - Anonymous coffin Cat. rT10C



Pl. 4.a - Anonymous coffin Cat. rT12C



Pl. 4.b - Detail of the anonymous coffin Cat. rT10C



Pl. 4.c - Coffin of the king's daughter Satdjehuty, Cat. rX01ÄS



Pl. 4.d - Scarabs found with the *rishi* coffins Cat. *r*T28carca and *r*T29carca, *GIArch*. Carter Mss. i.J.315 © Griffith Institute, University of Oxford, UK.



Pl. 5.a - Anonymous coffin Cat. *r*T01NY



Pl. 5.b - Coffin of Puhor Senbu, Cat. rT02NY



Pl. 6.a - Coffin of the "lady of the house" Reri, Cat. rT04NY/ photo by William Barrette



Pl. 6.b - Coffin of the "royal ornament" Teti, Cat. rT06NY



Pl. 7.a - Anonymous coffin Cat. *r*T08NY



Pl. 7.b - Anonymous coffin Cat. rT09NY



Pl. 8.a - Details of the foot end of *rishi* coffins; (a) anonymous coffin Cat. *r*T15C; (b) anonymous coffin Cat. *r*T13C; (c) coffin of king Kamose, Cat. *r*T03C; (d) anonymous coffin Cat. *r*T14C



Pl. 8.b - Canopic box of king Wepmaat Antef © 2004. Musée du Louvre/Christian Décamps



Pl. 8.c - Anonymous coffin Cat. *r*T04BM